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Men of the Kingdom

John Calvin: The Statesman

By

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IN MEMORY

OF

My Father,

WITH FILIAL GRATITUDE

AND LOVE

PROLOGUE

As a system of theology Calvinism has no place in this volume. As a mighty force in the organization of ecclesiastical and political disciplines it will demand fair if not full treatment. Contrasted with Lutheranism Calvinism was the real strength of the Reformation. Extinguished in France only after a brutal war, glorious in the Netherlands, the power behind the throne of Elizabeth, forbidding the banns between the rocky fastnesses of Scotland and the sunny plains of France, and in America holding a thin frontier between the seaboard and the savage until the day dawn of a fairer opportunity broke upon the young Republic, this new power justifies all efforts at explanation.

Sober judges like Mark Pattison have said, "In the sixteenth century Calvinism saved Europe;" like Bancroft, "He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin knows little of the history of American liberty;" even John Morley has lately declared, "To omit Calvin from the forces of Western evolution is to read history with one eye shut." John Calvin interests us far more than

his doctrine of predestination. "History, as Döllinger has said, is no simple game of abstractions; men are more than doctrines. It is not a certain theory of grace that makes the Reformation; it is Luther, it is Calvin. Calvin shaped the mold in which the bronze of Puritanism was cast. That commanding figure, of such vast power yet somehow with so little luster, by his unbending will, his pride, his gift of government, for legislation, for dialectic in every field, his incomparable industry and persistence had conquered a more than pontifical ascendency in the Protestant world. He meets us in England, as in Scotland, Holland, France, Switzerland, and the rising England across the Atlantic."[1] John Calvin was the "sharp edge of Protestantism" drawn against two forces; Roman Catholicism, more virile than ever in its new organization and moral revival, and the pagan impulse which swept in with the abuse of the freedom of the Reformation. Calvin's discipline was as potent as his theology.

The most permanent contributions of Calvin's genius lay less in the line of theology than of statesmanship. Calvin cherished the belief that the Reformation could be accomplished only by regeneration, by separation, and by negation. His change of view-point with regard to the Church in which he saw that men could conform with giving up their sins, his experiences at Geneva, where he

[1] Morley's Cromwell, p. 47.

found preachings, tumults, and image-breakings with no true improvement, brought him face to face with his "master problem, namely, by what means could he best secure the expression of a changed faith in a changed life."[1] Calvin's chief title in modern history is that of the statesman, not of the theologian. And we agree with the scholar of Oxford in his statement that we have less cause to be grateful to Calvin for the system called Calvinism than for the Church he organized. His theology was derivative and less original than his polity, yet he so interpreted the former as to make the latter its logical outcome.

[1] Dr. Fairbairn. Reformation. Camb. Mod. History, 2, 364.

NOTE.—The manuscript was in the hands of the printer before the issue of Professor Williston Walker's "John Calvin," by Putnam. References to this volume, an admirable one, have been possible in the proof sheets.

R. T. S.

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John Calvin: The Statesman

CHAPTER I.

CALVIN'S YOUTH.

THREESCORE miles northeast of Paris, on the railroad to Brussels, at the foot and on the slopes of a hill, is Noyon. Through it there runs a small stream which joins the Oise a little farther down its course. The town was an ancient cathedral center, and on account of its many churches, convents, and priests was called *Noyon-la-Sainte.* There, on July 10, 1509, was born John Calvin. His ancestors, according to M. Le Franc, were fishermen, or, as other narrate, bargemen, who lived on the river Oise. His father, Gérard Cauvin, or Calvin, of stern and severe character, became a bourgeois of Noyon in 1497, rose to a position of responsibility as apostolic secretary to the Bishop of Noyon, and became intimate with leading families of the neighborhood. He married the daughter of one of the prominent citizens of the town, Le

Franc, who had a good fortune. The bride of Gérard, Jeanne Le Franc, was handsome and pious. Though she died young, she lived long enough to impress her ideas upon the precocious boy, and is said to have taken him, after the custom of the day, upon various pilgrimages to near-by shrines. On her death the father took another wife, of whom nothing is known.

John Calvin had four brothers and two sisters, of whom two brothers died young, while two were provided with benefices through the father's influence. Charles, the oldest, was made chaplain of the cathedral in 1518, and the younger, Antoine, chaplain of Tournerolle, but later, with a sister, Marie, embraced the evangelical faith and followed their reformer-brother to Geneva. The other sister appears to have remained in the Catholic Church. His brother Charles turned heretic or infidel, was excommunicated in 1531, and died October 1, 1537, and for refusing the sacrament on his deathbed was buried between the four pillars of a gibbet the year after John announced his system to the world, "as if to repeat the startling contrast of Esau and Jacob, reprobation and election from the same womb."

The legend of John's having been educated at a charity school has been abandoned. His father was a man of importance, and obtained Church preferments for his sons. At the age of twelve John secured a "benefice," or living, the rent of some church property lying at Eppeville, a name

he afterwards used as a pseudonym. September 29, 1527, he became curate of Saint Martin de Martheville, and on the 5th of June he exchanged this for a better one at Pont l'Evéque. The sons were well educated in a college of Noyon, where John had for companions the children of the Seigneur of Mommor. With them he went to Paris, August, 1523, to enter college, living with his uncle Richard near the Church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. From the bell tower of this old church a half hundred years afterwards rang out the doom of the Huguenots on Saint Bartholomew's night. Little did any one dream of the mighty influence of the thin-faced lad who daily walked under the shadow of that tower. He was known as a studious bookworm. His intimate friend and follower, Beza, said of him that during this period he was "religious after a remarkable fashion, and a severe censor of all the vices of his companions." He early got the name of "The Accusative Case,"[1] a nickname suggestive of the leadership in morals and scholarship of a French lad in school life nearly four centuries ago.

A quarrel between his father and the Chapter of Noyon may have had its influence in chilling the warmth of John's affection for his home Church. "At the bottom of it," says M. Le Franc, "are

[1] Walker, p. 42, questions the real foundation of this; he credits it to Calvin's "renegade one-time friend," François Baudoin, later his calumnist.

money difficulties. Gérard Calvin was embarrassed in his affairs, refused to render his accounts to the Chapter, and put himself in complete opposition to it. The influence of this quarrel on the mind of the future reformer must have been considerable." How much of this is speculation may be matter for profitless discussion. However, the father was excommunicated by the Chapter, fell ill, and died, his son having come home from Paris to bid him farewell and do the last filial offices. The fact that he was buried in unconsecrated ground did not appeal favorably to the proudly sensitive young collegian from Paris. There was not lacking in the family a substantial background of anti-papal feeling, and though we can not know how extensive this was, it is not hard to conceive that John reflected the spirit of his family and of his native Picardy. The state of this section of France throws some light upon the growing antipathy to Rome on the part of the young scholar. Picardy was open to all the winds that blew across the Rhine. Robert Olivétan was a Picard, and a kinsman of Calvin. He had become a friend in Strassburg of Martin Bucer, a reformer intimate with Luther and of marked influence among men of the new faith. Picardy was celebrated for its love of contention, or say the principle of free speech, and the Bishop of Noyon and the Chapter were engaged in a "perpetual quarrel." So the fitting environment was ready for the nursing of a reformer.

Calvin was not an accident. The desire for a better state of things in Church and State was strong in his region. The city became for awhile a sort of headquarters for the reformers in the north of France. In the persecution which attended the zeal of the inquisitor-general, striving to recover Noyon to the Mother Church, the clergy stood together with the plain people, and forced the aristocrats to yield to the established order of the old faith, and so Noyon fell back into the arms of Rome. Thirty years after the death of Calvin, Cardinal Alexander de Medicis passed through Noyon and asked to be shown the home of Calvin. He then inquired if there were any Protestants in the town. His guide said: "Not a single one!" This was doubtless an exaggeration, but it expressed the fact that Noyon had exhausted its tendency to reform in furnishing to the world one reformer.

At the age of fourteen Calvin entered the Collège de la Marche. His great instructor in Latin was Mathurin Cordier, to whom he afterwards dedicated his Commentary on First Thessalonians. Cordier afterwards followed his pupil to Geneva, and was appointed director of the College of Geneva, where he died the same year with Calvin. From the Collège de la Marche Calvin was transferred to the more strictly ecclesiastical Collège de Montaigu, and there he studied philosophy and theology under a learned Spaniard. To this same

college came, in February, 1528, Ignatius Loyola, in preparation for his life-work, in which his most exacting duties were to be found in antagonism to the toil of Calvin.

We can not discover anything unusual or spectacular in the college career of the young student from Noyon, save that he easily distanced all his rivals. He seems to have had no heart for the riotous hours of the young collegians of Paris, and gave the police no trouble in their efforts to maintain order when "town and gown" met in a midnight brawl. He was reticent, proud, religious, and studious beyond measure or wisdom. Beza says he was even then *"doctor potius quam auditor,"*—teacher rather than hearer.

At first his father had longed for his gifted son to become priest, but changed his purpose. The son said: "My father saw that the study of law generally enriched those who pursued it, and this hope made him suddenly change his mind with regard to me. And thus it happened that being withdrawn from the study of philosophy in order to learn the law, I compelled myself to learn the law, so as to obey my father's will. But all the while God in His secret providence made me finally turn my head in another direction." M. Guizot is inclined to believe that his father's will was not the principal guiding motive in Calvin's resolution. For when he began his studies in Paris he was a special student of Cordier, a sympathetic onlooker at the

time of the rising tide of reform. Also his fellow-countryman, Olivétan, was moving with the new current of religion. Such influences could not have failed to tell upon the mind of Calvin. When in 1529 he abandoned the Church for the law, he went to Orléans and Bourges. One of his teachers was Pierre de l'Estoile, a learned jurist; another, Alciate of Milan, an elegant scholar in ancient literature; while more important still, another was Melchior Wolmar, eminent in Greek, who read Demosthenes with his pupils for a time, and then turned to the New Testament. Calvin became the favorite pupil of Wolmar. His industry and abstemiousness, his freedom from any wildness to which others were inclined, and his excesses in studying left for years a notable memory in Orleans, and at the same time laid the foundation for his plague for the rest of his life—dyspepsia.

He was made Bachelor of Laws at Orléans, February 14, 1531, and on leaving the university was offered the degree of Doctor of Laws without the usual fees. Already his rank as a scholar is exhibited in the fact that when the question of the divorce of Henry VIII was referred to the scholars on the Continent, Calvin was consulted. He expressed himself against the lawfulness of marriage with a brother's widow. In the summer of 1531 he went to Noyon to see his father depart this life, and returned to Paris with his brother Antoine. Still deepening his knowledge of the classics, he

does not seem to have had any thought of breaking with the Catholic Church. Nor does he discuss religious matters in correspondence with his intimate friends, like François Daniel. Daniel had asked him to introduce his sister to the superior of a convent, and Calvin wrote back that he had done so, adding that he had given her a few admonitions, as that she should not trust in her own strength, but put all confidence in God.

Financial embarrassment compelled him to borrow two crowns from his friend, Duchemin, to whom he expressed the hope of speedy repayment, yet would none the less remain a debtor in gratitude for timely aid. The peculiar maturity of his mind, his avoidance of a share in the noisy excitements so common to student life in his day, his intimacy with his teachers, and his high moral character marked him as a rare personality. The charge of selfish coldness which has dripped from the pens of writers like Audin disappears in the light of the knowledge of his warm friendships. Three young men of like mind with himself were Duchemin, Connam, and Daniel. While they felt the need of reform, they refused to break with the Romish Church, nor do Calvin's letters to them at this period show traces of discontent with the ancient communion. But when his mind began to consider the question of separation, no stronger proof of his capacity for friendship can be found than the fact that though his leaving appeared inevitable, he and

they remained friends. The first letter in Bonnet's four octavo volumes is to Daniel, and as late as 1559 Daniel renewed the correspondence with Calvin, and entrusted to him the education of his son Pierre. Calvin's first work was announced by the author to Daniel in the words, *"Tandem jacta est alea."* Cæsar had said just before crossing the Rubicon, "Let the die be cast." Calvin could not have meant by his half-playful adaptation of the old phrase with which the Roman had turned over a new leaf of history, that he was about to do the same. And yet it fell not far from it. Calvin was still a Humanist when he published his Commentary on Seneca's *"De Clementia."* He sent a copy to Erasmus, calling him "the honor and delight of the world of letters." This was his first book. In it there is evidence of a Stoic quality of mind which never left him. He published it at his own expense, April, 1532. In it may be seen "his characteristic love for the nobler type of Stoicism, great familiarity with Greek and Roman literature, masterly Latinity, rare exegetical skill, clear and sound judgment,"[1] but with no allusion to Christianity. Calvin's *"De Clementia"* has been considered by some to have the aim of an apologist, as if he hoped to save his fellows of the new faith from the wrath of the king; and to this Henry, Dorner, and Guizot give their names; but others like Stähelin deny it. Schaff says, "It is purely the work of a humanist,

[1] Dr. Schaff.

not of an apologist or a reformer." It is not addressed to the king, and in the implied comparison of the king to Nero Calvin could not have hoped to allay any bitter feeling in the royal heart towards the Protestants. The production is that of a brilliant young scholar, an admirer of the ancient classics, a soul tempered by the finer influences contributed to civilization by Stoicism. Letters, and not religion, at this time in life held him in charm.

Suddenly just as a notable career, one marked by the devotion of men of letters, and the favors of magnates of the Church, began to dawn before him, he joined the ranks of the reformers. He says it was a "sudden conversion" *(subito conversio)*. But this can not mean that the new direction of all his life currents was without thought or conscious battle. He could not have been ignorant, as an educated man, and one whose marvelous precocity attracted attention in every circle he joined, of the stir of the Reformation, favored by the men of letters and opposed by the clergy at large. He soon appeared as an interpreter of the Scriptures, and his extraordinary familiarity with them, his insight into their spiritual bent, tell the story of preparation for the change. There was both slow approach and sudden illumination. While he says, "God Himself produced the change, He instantly subdued my heart to obedience," yet we must think that this "sudden conversion" was the result, the climax, of much previous severe thought, and pos-

sibly of struggle. The question is wrapped in additional difficulty for the reason that Calvin does not mention the time, place, or circumstances of the decisive change. Le Franc puts the time in the latter part of the year 1532, when Calvin was in Orléans, or possibly in Paris.[1] According to Beza the conversion took place as far back as 1528, or even 1527. Bolsec and Audin, whose narratives are in spots the veriest libels, trace the great change to wounded ambition, but in utter ignorance of Calvin's character.

It will be recalled that in telling his friend Daniel of his work on "Clemency" he had said "the die was cast." None the less fitting is the phrase to describe the present turn of life, but now he throws himself on the "mercy" of God. In memorable words he discloses his wretchedness of soul, not long after the issue of his book on "Clemency." "After my heart had long been prepared for the most earnest self-examination, on a sudden the full knowledge of the truth, like a bright light, disclosed to me the abyss of errors in which I was weltering, the sin and shame with which I was defiled. A horror seized my soul, when I became conscious of my wretchedness and of the more terrible misery that was before me. And what was left, O Lord, for me, miserable and abject, but with tears and cries of supplication to abjure the old life which Thou condemned and to flee into Thy

1 With this Walker agrees, p. 96.

path?" He tells us that he had failed to find inward peace through the usual methods of the Church. "Only one haven of salvation is there for our souls, and that is the compassion of God, which is offered to us in Christ." Calvin was now a free man inwardly. And if he had any doubts concerning his outward course they were soon dispelled. He, like Cæsar, was the man to cross Rubicons with a whole heart. Martin Luther's conversion was no more significant, nor was that of John Wesley, for the long future of the Reformation and of Constitutional liberty hung upon the changed life of this young Frenchman of twenty-three. He had not been immoral; he now became evangelical. He had not lacked in Latinity, reading his favorite Cicero through annually; but now he lifted the Bible far above all books. He had never been a lover of misrule, nor a destructionist, for he revered the Church of his fathers; but now he became the mightiest builder of the age, like all truly great men, loving order, and stretched a long arm out over the generations to come.

The shy scholar becomes the refuge of troubled souls. He had found the key to liberty, and men came to him for the opening of the door from their prison houses of doubt and sin. Though he tried to escape the numbers that thronged his place of residence, he could not fail to see that God was about to use him for the help of his fellows, and to those who sought his counsel he gave the keynote

of his theology and his piety in the words with which he began and closed his exhortations: "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Calvin had not been ordained priest in the Roman Catholic Church, and had never read mass, though he had early received the tonsure, destined as he was for the priesthood. Like Melanchthon he was a layman. It was not until 1536 that he fully entered the ranks of ordained preachers, when by the election of presbyters and council, and with the consent of the whole people, he was chosen pastor and began his "regular" ministry. He had no hierarchy back of him, but a democracy.

The crisis and breach with Rome came in 1533. The king had been offended because of an insult offered to his sister by the Sorbonne in their condemnation of her "Mirror of a Sinful Soul,"—a mystical reverie, which omitted to mention purgatory and the intercession of saints, and was therefore judged to have denied them. Over this there grew up a division between the liberals and the traditionalists, and a slight rising of the tide towards a moderate reform was apparent. Several preachers whose sympathies leaned towards reformation were permitted to preach in Paris pulpits. The new rector of the university was Nicholas Cop, the son of a distinguished physician, and a warm friend of Calvin. All Saints' Day brought with it the duty of delivering the annual oration, and a month after his election, November 1, 1533, before

a large audience in the Church of the Mathurins, the new rector spoke after a fashion to injure himself and his friend, John Calvin. Cop had asked Calvin to write the address or to make substantial contributions to it, and the result was, as Beza tells the incident, "very different kind of oration from the ordinary one, for he spoke of religious matters with great freedom." In the speech Calvin made a plea for the New Testament kind of reformation, and boldly attacked the musty theologians of the day as a set of sophists, ignorant of the true Gospel. "They teach nothing of faith, nothing of the love of God, nothing of the remission of grace, nothing of justification, or if they do so, they pervert and undermine it all by their laws and sophistries. I beg of you, who are here present, not to tolerate any longer these heresies and abuses."[1]

The word was out and could not be recalled. It was sufficient to rouse against Cop all the ire of the conservatives. The Sorbonne interpreted the address as a manifesto against the Holy Church, and condemned it to the flames. The rector of a month fled to Basel. Calvin fell into their accusation also, so we judge his share in the speech was not a secret. He took temporary refuge in the dwelling of a vine-dresser in the Fauburg St. Victor, changed his clothing, was let down from a

[1] Calvin's share in Cop's Address is asserted by many authorities, and denied by as many more.

window, Pauline fashion, and escaped from Paris carrying a hoe upon his shoulder to perfect his disguise. The police were quick upon his heels, yet found nothing save his books and papers.

John Calvin now becomes a wanderer.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

Before taking up the all too meager incidents of Calvin's life in his wanderings, we must attempt to familiarize our minds with the age in which he was to play such a distinguished part. He touched so many lives, the most illustrious of the century, kings, bishops, scholars, statesmen, the opponent of some, the pride of some, the spiritual father of some, feared and hated and loved from the Tiber to the Thames, and credited with greatness by all who were qualified to give any decision, that one will surely go astray if the background of his eminent services be not painted in.

That "great and happy thing" which men call the Renaissance was a timely recovery of the glories and charm of Greek and Roman culture. One of the most brilliant products of this spirit as it swept over Europe bears the stamp of Calvin's literary genius upon it, his first appearance in the field of letters. The glorious air first breathed upon Italy, then upon Germany, France, and England. The sixteenth century rises to splendid proportions, full-orbed and far-shining. If men did not all see fully,

they gazed eagerly. Ulrich von Hutten, rejoicing in the new light and filling his lines with the fresh enthusiasm for Germany, and the passion against Rome, cried out: "O century when studies bloom and spirits awake; it is happiness to live in thee!" Stars of the first magnitude in nearly all lines of mental activity and practical daring glow with undiminished splendor, even to eyes that find it difficult to compass the glory of the twentieth century. It is the age of Luther and Raphael, both born the same year, 1483; of Erasmus and Michelangelo, one the master of the new learning and the other the noblest artist of his time; the day of Columbus and Cabot; of Leonardo da Vinci; of François Rabelais; of Vittoria Colonna, Henry VIII, Charles V, Chevalier Bayard, Magellan and Loyola; of Zwingli, Coligny, and William of Orange; of John Knox, Francis I, Melanchthon, Titian, Correggio, Leo X, Cortez and Copernicus; an age plethoric with discoverers, artists, architects, sculptors, statesmen, theologians, soldiers, thinkers, a noble band, men of truths, men of errors, men of great parts and of famous deeds. John Calvin holds high rank in this illustrious company.

In the expressive phrase of Guizot, "Two contrary winds were blowing over Europe at this period, one carrying with it skepticism and licentiousness, while the other breathed only Christian faith and the severest morality." It was an age of intoxication, of reconstruction, of conflict. The

spread of the literary spirit had serious consequences for the Church, though it was not at first clearly seen. Along with the revival of letters there came a renewed study of the Fathers of the Church, and, above all, of the Scriptures. Humanism was welcomed to different lands with somewhat varying emphasis. In Italy it bred a skepticism which concerned itself little enough with the moral betterment of the Church and society; in Germany the study of the classics did not corrupt minds like that of Reuchlin, and bent itself in sympathy with the effort to found the new University of Wittenberg, only seven years before the birth of Calvin; in England men like Colet and More smiled at the dawn with a double joy, that of the saint as well as that of the student; and later on both for those who stayed in the Roman Church and for those who revolted, the new learning was a fortress and strong tower, for in its arsenal the Catholic and the Reformer, the followers of Loyola and of Calvin alike sharpened their blades for fierce encounter.

The failure of the Popes to use the Renaissance with a view to the moral improvement of human society as well as its æsthetic advance tells the story of a double loss. The over-emphasis of art-loving popes upon the art products of their day, especially in the early decades of the century, reveals a one-sided quality of soul which in the end lost the very good at which wealth and taste and skill were aiming. Pope Julius II represented the

zenith of the effort to secure for the Church the magnificent service of the art of the Renaissance. He had the three greatest minds that any ruler could hope for. Bramante, "perhaps the most universal and gifted mind that ever used its mastery over architecture," planned in St. Peter's the type of the majestic extension of the Church. In the roof of the Sistine Chapel Michelangelo depicted the return of mankind to God, aided not only by Judaism, but also by Græco-Roman paganism, showing a positive relationship between classical antiquity and Christianity. Above all, in the four pictures by Raphael, painted in the *Camera della Segnatura* the year of Calvin's birth, can be seen the aspiration of the soul of man in each of its faculties, man going Godward by the æsthetic perceptions, by philosophy, by Church order, and by theology. The Papacy of the Renaissance led Europe in art. This Luther could not see. What he saw was a "Holy City" forsaking the Decalogue. But its neglect of morals led to a decline in art.

Dr. Kraus, of Munich, a late authority in this field, believes[1] that the decline began with the follies and frailties of Leo X, who, though his reign has been compared to that of Augustus, passed his life in self-indulgence, while the north of Europe was bursting the bonds which bound it to Rome. As far back as 1498 Niccolo Macchiavelli saw in the flames about Savonarola no prospect of reform

[1] Camb. Mod. Hist. vol. 2.

from Rome. And though a better man came with the election of Adrian VI, a "Dutch saint," who could not understand the newly-discovered Laocoön, saying, "These are heathen idols," he failed to reconcile the Italian Renaissance with the conscience of the Germanic world.

In 1523 Clement VII was elected Pope, but as a contemporary remarked, "He lost courage and let go the rudder." Vacillating between Charles V and Francis I he beheld his holy city sacked by the rough soldiery of Charles after the battle of Pavia, perhaps the most important military event of the century. In 1533 he gave his great-niece, yet in her teens, to the royal house of France, a terrible gift, for thirty-eight years afterwards she contrived to flood the gutters of Paris with the blood of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Night. During his pontificate the unity of the Catholic Church was destroyed, and half of Europe found another center of its faith. Italian corruption, a fatal confusion of politics and religion, the incapacity of a man who was neither venal, nor proud, nor licentious, wrought out a bitter atonement for the sins of a selfish predecessor. The harmonization of mediæval with modern thought and life, and the perpetuation of an unbroken Catholicism, all miscarried because all strong moral force was gone from the Italian people. Italy had burned its last prophet in the *Piazza della Signore* at Florence. It had also blown out the candle of its glory as

the leader of European culture. Painting and sculpture took a downward path after the death of Raphael and Leonardo. "Not only the Muses and the Graces wept by Raphael's grave, the whole Julian epoch was buried with him."[1]

When the election of Alessandro Farnese as Paul III, 1534, inaugurated the Counter-Reformation, it proved too late to save to Rome its distinction of being both the intellectual and the religious center of Christian Europe. The results were fatal to the hope of a universal ecclesiasticism which Bramante suggested in his plans for St. Peter's, and Raphael glorified in his cartoons. It has been remarked by Newman that the greatest misfortune lay, and still lies, in the fact that the Latin races never realized, and do not even yet realize, what they have lost in the Germanic defection. Yet it is as striking a fact that the Reformed Church in all its branches discovered its bridge of transfer from the bank of Mediæval autocracy to that of Modern democracy in a Latin of the Latins, through whose high character, magnificent culture, and persistent will it was enabled to offset the aroused energy of Rome, its quickened conscience, its giant organization with an energy, a consecration, and a conception of the worth of the individual man able to withstand the concentrated pressure of the whole Roman Catholic world.

A significant difference appears in the symbols

1 Camb. Mod. Hist. 2, 28.

of the two opponents. The old was getting itself splendidly fashioned in marble; the new clearly printed on the flying page; for with the building of St. Peter's on the banks of the Tiber, and with the issue of the *"Institutes"* of John Calvin at Geneva, we reach the two giant conceptions of the century. The black and white page contrast oddly enough with the golden dome. The one is objective, the other appeals to the inner eye. The one is the proudest monument of religious institutionalism, the other beats its exacting notes for an irresistible march into the future. Within the walls of the Church are assembled the most sacred relics of the Catholic faith. From Raphael to Canova, Art has done her utmost to perpetuate the elaborate symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church, accumulated in the passing of a thousand years. In the pages of Calvin, Logic reached the limit in mighty effort to exalt the idea of the Sovereignty of God. St. Peter's is the conclusion of an impulse which led men for so many centuries to express their religious feelings by sensuous images of the grand, the obscure, and the terrible. "It represents the absorption of the religious by the æsthetic element, which is the sure sign that the religious function of architecture had terminated. The age of the cathedrals had passed. The age of the printing-press had begun."[1]

The two extremes of the French Renaissance

[1] Lecky, Rationalism; 1. 267.

were the theologian and the satirist. Over against John Calvin stood François Rabelais. Of no other two men of their age have so many contradictory opinions been held. A modern Frenchman, Voltaire, heir to the scholarship in which they both reveled, as skeptical as the one and more critical than the other in his assaults upon the Church, more decent than Rabelais, less so than Calvin, declared that the works of the great humorist were "the most filthy ordure that a drunken monk could possibly vomit." He did indeed make a coarse picture of the corruption of the times in monastery and castle, not without grim and terrible satire. He was at once sensualist, scholar, and skeptic, yet he remained in the Church. Coleridge declared him to be among the deepest minds as well as the boldest thinker of his age. Charles Kingsley found him strangely "evangelical." His versatility of humor has led some to place him in the class with Shakespeare. By no stretch of the imagination can he be reckoned in sympathy with Calvin, nor can Calvin be thought of as looking with indifference upon the riot with which Rabelais has peopled his pages. Yet in their scorn of the life of the flesh to which the monks devoted their days and nights, both men represented the changing mind of the new day, the view of a consistent life which men were everywhere demanding of those who handled sacred things.

Yet the wit of Rabelais was utterly lacking in

restraint, and his chidings were without conscience, for while he scorned the frauds and follies of the papal court and lashed without limit of decency the sins of the clergy, he continued to live in their communion. The absolution of Clement VII and the license of Francis I secured him the privileges of a chartered libertine. He became the Momus of his time, and his entire possession of the double spirit of France, its love of logic and its love of life, its learning and its licentiousness, made him at once a communicant and a bacchanal.

In Calvin we have the antidote to Rabelais. If the one was an ascetic, the other was a satyr. The one drank before, during, and after writing; the other was content with a repast of bread and water once in thirty-six hours. The one was lord of misrule in tavern or monastery; the other the lord of order in Geneva. The one wrote a farce for merriment, the other a tragedy which man finds too serious for laughter. For the man of Geneva life was a mission, and logic a flame. The one was all too short for folly, the other too sure for doubt. Thus in the sublime conviction that he fully understood God's will for the world, Calvin endeavored to translate his world of reason into one of practice, faithful to the last link of what he believed an indissoluble logic.

The Rabelaisian spirit could not abide in Geneva while Calvin ruled there. The two worlds were mutually exclusive. "The demoniac of Ge-

neva," as the humorist called the puritan, was the mightiest in his realm, and saved it from the demoralization to which the ebb-tide towards paganism was carrying it.

In another direction the demand for such a leader as Calvin is most notable. In the definite theological retrogression from Lutheranism, even before Luther's death, the battle lines were drawn not between Lutheranism and Jesuitism, but between Jesuitism and Calvinism. In their leadership, their organization, their emphasis upon education they were not unlike. Each consecrated everything to the purpose of its life and mission. Each tested to the full the other's power of offense and defense. "It is here," says Dr. A. V. G. Allen, "that Calvinism finds its place in the philosophy of history. Its merit lay in its ability to resist Jesuitism on its own ground. It did not hesitate to identify Calvin's opinions with the divine will. In this respect its audacity may be equaled, but is not surpassed by the disciples of Loyola. Calvinism was the fighting mood of the Reformation."[1]

That we may give full measure to this conception of the place of Calvinism, we must know somewhat more of the Spanish soldier, pilgrim, saint, and organizer whose work it was to save the Roman Church from the assaults of the man of Geneva. The story of the wounding of Loyola on the ramparts of Pampeluna, and the collapse of the

[1] Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 337.

defense when he fell with both legs shattered by a cannon shot is well known. His nerve was equal to the pain of having one leg broken again on finding it had been ill set, when he had a protruding bone sawed off, while he calmly watched the surgeon's work. On his sick bed he asked for a romance. None was at hand, and instead he was handed a life of Christ and the lives of some saints. The ambitions of the soldier were changed, and he rose from the sick bed another man. He offered himself as a distributor of alms, and tried to go to Palestine pilgrim-wise, staff in hand. Finding that he lacked much to fit him for his life duty, he turned himself at thirty-three years of age to the school bench. He was far behind Calvin in his Latin declensions, nor was he an apt pupil. He had not yet taken holy orders, and by his zeal he made himself "distinctly odious."[1] He goes to the University of Paris, and enrolls as a freshman, February, 1528. He mingled in proportions dictated not by good judgment so much as by an iron will, the most lofty aims, the most austere practices, and the drudgery of difficult study. He finally overcame all obstructions and took his degree of Master of Arts in 1534. Of more aid to him than his degree were his six chosen companions, each one of whom he had won individually. Never was there a band of devoted followers picked to more clearly defined aims. Though the men he gathered

[1] Hughes' Loyola. 24.

around him were unlike, he bred in them the rarest devotion to his ideal, enlisting the courtier Xavier, ambitious for letters; the youthful prodigy Laynez, Doctor of Philosophy, and the tender shepherd boy, Lefevre, to lay aside self in the cause of the society. A French historian has said: "Loyola could apply to himself admirably well that proverb which says, 'When a Spaniard is driving a nail into the wall, and the hammer breaks, the Spaniard will drive it in with his head!" Of none was this truer than of Loyola, who counted no cost to get his plans to work, through to the end of days.

On the 27th of September, 1540, the Society of Jesus received from the Pope its bull of confirmation, and the order was ready for the work of capturing the next generation, to check the decadence of the Church, and to offset the increasing might of Calvinism. Loyola died in 1556, and Calvin in 1564, but they had laid down before their going the lines of the grand strategy on which the battle lasted far on into succeeding decades. Their followers made for the cities, where they planted their schools. Of Loyola some one wrote, contrasting him with other Catholic orders:

> "Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,
> Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes."

That is: The monks of Clairvaux loved their valleys; the Benedictines their mountain-tops; the

Franciscans the rural towns; Ignatius the great cities.

Action and reaction came with startling suddenness. The very year of England's breach with the papacy, Loyola took his Master's degree at Paris. The birth of this order on French soil was ominous for the future of the Reformation in France. Even before the establishment of the plans of Loyola the Protestants had endured martyrdom under direct encouragement of the king. They faced persecution with wonderful courage, yet were not able to cope with the rising energy of Romanism, unless some equal might should direct in their behalf the uncertain future. While Francis I was crowding to the wall his subjects who were professing the new faith, and burning alive the simple Vaudians of Provence who dared to break with Rome, the Reformation was at a standstill in Italy; in Germany it had laid the foundations of war between the emperor and the Protestant princes, and Luther's closing days were made sad on account of fraternal strife; the death of Henry VIII threw England back into the folds of the Roman Church and left his daughter to light the fires of Smithfield; Rome was renewing her vigor and preparing for advance not only in Europe, but in the New World she had lately claimed for her own. It was a day of genuine alarm for the Protestants. Luther had raised a storm, but was not the leader to control its fierce energies in the salvation of the reform for which he had given his life.

In special, Luther's methods of securing the results of his first efforts were not to the liking of a large part of the new forces engaged in the exodus from Rome. History was slowly tending towards democracy. Luther failed to implant in the minds of his host the principle of self-sustentation. He leaned too heavily upon the princes. His congregations were but half emancipated from old doctrines and old relations with authority. They held truth with an alloy of falsehood. It was a time when half measures were sure to prove unequal to the tremendous task. To quench the fires of Philip of Spain, to raise men in Scotland or France to face the princes of the House of Lorraine, or to match the craft of Jesuitism they needed a sharper definition of differences from Rome, and a closer alliance with the new life of the modern world expressing itself in forms of popular control, and a simpler texture of organization with which to front the age-long power of the Popes. These did not come from Wittenberg. While Luther resisted forces which would have crushed weaker men, and goes to the end of time one of the immortals of human progress, it yet remains that he held to beliefs that a more logical intellect would have disowned, and cherished customs which a more radical reformer would have surrendered. He seems himself to have felt that he had not touched the secret springs of a permanent victory, and the nearer he drew to his close

the more it became evident that no adequate provision for a permanent expansion of Protestant doctrine and practice was to be hoped for under the direction of the great German.

Then it must be remembered that as the more eager rebels against the Roman Church pushed forward to simpler and more secure positions, "revival and reaction followed so fast on the heels of reform that had the Lutheran Church stood alone, neither the eloquence of its founder, nor the sagacity and steadfastness of the Saxon Electors, nor the vigor of Landgrave Philip could have saved it."[1] No truly observant reader of the conflicting spirits of this wonderful time will fail to note that the tendencies working for reform were not exhausted by Luther, for it did not follow that what he did not do could not be done by another. A more radical and complete reformation was wrought out by the leader of the Swiss, Zwingli. Their rebound from Rome was less traditional and more historical and rational than in the case of the Germans. While both leaned upon civil powers, these powers were not the same. In Luther's case the princes, in Zwingli's case the free people, backed up the movement entrusted to their several leaders. And when we reach the use that Calvin made of the opportunity offered to him in Geneva, whereby the *"elders"*—laymen—could freely express themselves as influential agents in the organization of

[1] Dr. Fairbairn. Camb. Hist. 2. 345.

the Church, it is not hard to point the path trod by the Reformed Church as it ran through Holland, England, Scotland, and America, widening as it went the thoroughfare in which free thought and free religion, democracy, and constitutional government were to find their fullest, their most glorious, their most lasting illustrations.

CHAPTER III.

WANDERINGS.

CALVIN beat none too hasty a retreat from Paris. The scandal of the oration was great. The king wrote to the Parliament enjoining diligent processes against the "accursed Lutheran sect." Within a week there were fifty Lutherans in prison. But the fever of persecution quickly died down in the veins of the vacillating ruler. On his return to Paris, January 24, 1534, after effecting a secret treaty with the German Protestant princes, the hunt for heretics ceased. But only for a time. All hopes of lasting quiet were blown to the winds by a bit of fanatic folly on the part of over-zealous Protestants. One Faret, a servant of the king's apothecary, placarded a tract "on the horrible, great, intolerable abuses of the popish mass" throughout Paris, October 18, 1534, and the citizens rubbed their eyes in the morning to find their walls and fences disgraced with a most offensive placard. Even the door of the royal chamber at Fontainebleua was smutched with a copy. It was a deplorable act of folly, and aroused a furious persecution against innocent people who not only had no part

in the matter, but were innocent of any purpose to offend the king. Before Christmas hundreds were languishing in prison, and many went to the stake. Wrath was whitehot. Both Church and State took deep offense, and mingled in mediæval style penitence for real or imagined neglect of duty towards the true faith, with immediate and harsh penalties against the heretics. January 21, 1535, about eight in the forenoon an extraordinary procession issued from the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, headed by priests bearing precious relics of various sorts. In due order came the king with head uncovered, and after him princes of the blood, nobles, and high officials. The oldest citizen of Paris had never seen such a *cortége,* nor so vast a multitude, filling pavement, doorway, window, and even roof. With measured tread the procession moved through the principal streets. Six times it paused, each time before a temporary altar. Beside the altar there hung a Lutheran, swinging in air from a movable iron frame, while below him burned a glowing fire. He was now lowered, now lifted, and his sufferings prolonged until, at the pausing of the royal party, he was finally dropped into the flames. Such was the penance and such the persecution. Thus king and people righted themselves before God!

We have slightly anticipated events, overlapping some in the career of Calvin with the efforts of Paris to get even with heresy. From the day of his flight from the capital to the time of his arrival

in Geneva Calvin wandered three years as a homeless evangelist, studying at the home of a friend, preaching, and writing in behalf of the Reformation. He is now in Southern France, then in Switzerland, Italy, finally in Geneva. Dates and places are not always easy to determine. Calvin's life is not one of the sort, like Luther's, filled with incidents of great dramatic value, and one has to get into the deeper values of his career, the inner, the hidden, and the indirect, to properly estimate his place in history. Yet a few facts which have been preserved show him to have been a man equal to outward emergencies. May 4, 1534, he resigned his benefices at Noyon and Pont l'Evéque, and after a brief imprisonment at Noyon he was liberated. It was then he finally renounced Roman Catholicism. Fearing the forces of disorder which lurked in the uncertain development of Protestantism, he composed a tract against one of the peculiar articles of faith of the Anabaptists, that of sleep between death and the day of judgment. He did not make his appeal as in his first work to the classics, but to Holy Scripture, for evidence in overthrowing the unsound views of the Anabaptists. Their unintelligent zeal he separated from their fanatic faith, and left the evangelical position in clear sunlight. Later on we find Calvin under the protection of Queen Margaret of Navarre, in her native city of Angoulême. Calvin lived with a wealthy friend, Louis du Tillet, canon of the

cathedral. His unstrained intimacy here and ever with men of letters and wealth and honorable position was of pronounced benefit to him. In this place of seclusion he began his *"Institutes."* He also gave aid to his kinsman, Olivétan, in revising and translating the Bible into French. The work appeared at Neufchâtel in June, 1535, with a preface by Calvin. On going to Nérac, the tiny capital of the queen, he became acquainted with Le Fèvre d'Etaples, the old Humanist and father of French Protestantism. Near Poictiers, so the legend affirms, he celebrated for the first time the Lord's Supper with some friends in a cave, which for a long time bore the name of "Calvin's Cave."

Near the end of the year 1534 he risked a visit to Paris. There a Spanish physician, named Servetus, crossed his path, having but recently published a book, "On the Errors of the Trinity." He challenged Calvin to a public disputation. The challenge was accepted, but the debate never came off. Servetus failed at the last to put in an appearance. Twenty years later Calvin reminded him of his failure: "You know that at that time I was ready to do everything for you, and did not even count my life too dear that I might convert you from your errors." What a blot would have been removed from Calvin's fame if he had done so. Better still, if he had never met the Spaniard.

Did he meet Rabelais in the province of Saintonge? What an interesting bit of biography

would be any portion of a conversation between the champion theologian and the first humorist of France. It is certain that Calvin denounced, in 1533, "Pantagruel" as an "obscene book." Nor did Rabelais spare Calvin in the third book of "Pantagruel," and we know what he thought of the "demoniac of Geneva" at a still later day in Calvin's history. There could be only mutual distaste and disgust in any meeting between these two representatives of the serious and the jovial side of life.

On the increase of persecution Calvin takes the road into uncertain exile. Under the name of Martianus Lucanius he reaches Basel, carrying with him the outlines of his immortal work. There he remained from January, 1535, to March, 1536. In this safe resting place he spent the time to high profit with scholars. Erasmus, while in residence in Basel from 1514 to 1529, had issued his New Testament and his editions of the Latin Fathers, and there he died in July, 1536. The incident of his meeting Calvin, and the story told of the remark of the older scholar, that he saw "a great pestilence arising in the Church against the Church," is soundly doubted by Schaff, though it is told with embellishments by Merle d'Aubigné, as if he had been an interested looker-on during the interview. The man whose piety and learning had effectually changed Basel to the Protestant religion, Oecolampadius, had died three years prior to the

arrival of Calvin, but others of like character were on the ground, who gave to the Frenchman good welcome. Myconius was chief pastor, and Simon Grynæus was a scholarly Grecian, with whom Calvin learned to appreciate the best methods, as he himself tells us, of studying and explaining the Scriptures. Sebastian Munster was to him a master in Hebrew, "at whose feet he could sit without shame." Thomas Platter was a vagrant scholar and printer, from whose press Calvin's great book came all too slowly to satisfy the impatience of the strenuous author. All in all, Basel was a happy spot for recruiting energies and giving free expression to opinion. There in a delightful environment he prepared himself for heavier tasks soon to fall to his lot.

The year of the "Placards" is correctly noted as a turning point in the history of French Protestantism. The king had now become flint, and his courtiers fury, to say nothing of the priesthood. The dreadful tidings of their wrath against the accused friends of Protestantism flew over Europe, and aroused the Protestant princes of Germany to remonstrate with Francis. He excused himself by saying, "He had been constrained to use this rigor against certain rebels who wished to trouble the State under the pretext of religion." This excuse evoked a remarkable reply. In August, 1535, a small volume fell from the press at Basel bearing no name of its author. It was dedicated in frank

and noble style to the French king. "This," said the author afterwards, "was what led me to publish it: first, to relieve my brethren from an unjust accusation, and then as the same sufferings still hung over the heads of many poor faithful men in France, that foreign nations might be touched with commiseration for their woes, and might open to them a shelter." "If the act," says Michelet, "was bold, no less so was the style. The new French language was then an unknown tongue. Yet here, twenty years after Comines, thirty years before Montaigne, we have already the language of Rousseau, his power if not his charm. But the most formidable attribute of the volume is its penetrating clearness, its brilliance of steel rather than of silver; a blade which shines, but cuts. One sees that the light comes from within, from the depth of the conscience, from a spirit rigorously convinced, of which logic is the food. One feels that the author gives nothing to appearances, that he labors to find a solid argument upon which he can live, and if need be, die."

In such terms is John Calvin introduced to us by one of his most brilliant countrymen, as the chief thinker of the age. The work was *"Christianæ Religionis Institutio."* The author was twenty-five years of age, and was seeking a hiding place for the further pursuit of his studies. But no man who wrote as he did could remain in hiding. The apologist of martyrs, the thinker of the new

faith, the legislator of the Reformed Church, he went to the front of all leaders, of all confidence, and of all wonderful service in the wide spreading array of the nascent powers of the young Church, just now, however, in danger of eclipse.

Guizot thinks the work was written originally in French, when published at Basel in 1535 without the author's name. But Dr. Schaff, after a prolonged analysis of the contending claims of the two languages, Latin and French, avers, "The question of the priority of the Latin or French text is now settled in favor of the former," and quotes Calvin's statement in his preface to the French edition of 1541, that he first wrote the *Institutes* in Latin for readers of all nations, and then reproduced them in French for the sake of his countrymen. The dedicatory preface is dated August 23d, without the year; but at the close of the book the month of March, 1536, is given as the date of publication. The first French edition, 1541, supplements the date of the Preface correctly (August 23, 1535). The manuscript then was completed in 1535, but it took nearly a year to print the book. The error arises from confounding the date of the Preface, as given in the French editions (23 August, 1535), with the latter date of issue (March, 1536).

Francis I, like Richelieu in the next century, courted friendship with Protestant princes in Germany, and even with the Turks, while in bitter conflict with the Emperor and other Catholic

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powers. Knowing the detestation with which his ill-treatment of his own Protestant subjects was regarded across the Rhine, he endeavored to excuse himself on the ground that he had sent none to death, except a few fanatics who were spreading abroad their contempt for rulers, and by their practices tending to subvert good order in the kingdom. It was to silence such calumnies as these that Calvin published his apology for his suffering countrymen.

The Dedication of the work is a masterpiece. Its style is pure and bold. A nervous energy characterizes its respectful appeal to the Cæsar of the day. It fills eighteen pages, and ranks with a small handful of the greatest literary productions of the kind in history.

The noble defense reaches its close with these words: "But I return to you, Sire. . . . I fear I have gone too much into the detail, as this preface already approaches the size of a full apology, whereas I intended it not to contain our defense, but only to prepare your mind to attend to the pleading of our cause; for though you are now averse and alienated from us, and even inflamed against us, we despair not of regaining your favor, if you will only read with calmness and composure this our Confession, which we intend as our defense before your Majesty. But, on the contrary, if your ears are so preoccupied with the whispers of the malevolent, as to leave no opportunity for the ac-

cused to speak for themselves, and if those outrageous furies, with your connivance, continue to persecute with imprisonments, scourges, tortures, confiscations, and flames, we shall indeed, like sheep destined to the slaughter, be reduced to the greatest extremities. Yet we shall in patience possess our souls and wait for the mighty hand of the Lord, which undoubtedly will in time appear, and show armed for the deliverance of the poor from their afflictions, and for the punishment of their despisers who now exult in such perfect security. . . . May the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in righteousness, and your kingdom with equity!"

Protestants and Catholics have joined in praise of this monumental production. Says Van Oostersee, the eminent Dutch scholar: "No dry analysis is able to give a worthy idea of this book, now much more praised than read. Prefaced by the renowned letter of apology to Francis I, a vestibule worthy of its stately edifice, it points to the knowledge of God as the key to the sanctuary of eternal truth. While strictly systematic in its plan, it is thoroughly practical in spirit, the expression of the author's personal belief, and entirely founded on Holy Scripture, explained most strikingly by the exegete Calvin." Even Audin, the Romanist defamer of Calvin, whose willingness to believe all ill of him is most startling in the face of overwhelming proof to the contrary, has this to say of the

Preface to the *Institutes:* "The dedication is one of the first monuments of the French language; it wants neither boldness nor eloquence." When it appeared, the literati declared that "it was a discourse worthy of a great king, a portico worthy of a superb edifice, a composition which might be ranked by the side of De Thou's introduction to his Universal History, or with that of Casaubon to his Polybius." F. W. Kampschulte, the fairest of Roman Catholic biographers of Calvin, calls him "the Aristotle;" Martin, a liberal French historian, calls him with more fitness, "the Thomas Aquinas" of Protestantism. Guizot, the Protestant authority, says: "In spite of its imperfections, it is on the whole one of the noblest edifices ever erected by the mind of man, and one of the mightiest codes of moral law which has ever guided him."[1]

The Institutes were not written in popular style for the masses, and did not appeal to them with the same warmth and homeliness as did Luther's tract of "Christian Freedom." Written for scholars, it was handed by them to the plainer folk of the Reformed Church. On the scent for heresy, the Sarbonne discovered the character of the work, and ordered it to be burned; but fortunately the printing-press is as constructive as fire is destructive, and the book went over Europe in short time.

It is a mistake to suppose that Calvin produced a finished treatise upon theology in 1535. It is equally erroneous to believe that he changed his

[1] St. Louis and Calvin, 181.

views from that time until his death. At the same time we can well accept the idea that his mind grew in its range and balance of powers, and that his additions to the skeleton of 1535 were both in agreement with it and at the same time an amplification of its foundation statements. Calvin was wonderfully precocious, and yet he must have grown in every way after the first venture, for the breadth of his vision and swing of his argument gained with the passing years. In the first edition he put forth a manual with six chapters, upon: (1) the Decalogue; (2) the Apostles' Creed; (3) the Lord's Prayer; (4) Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (5) the other so-called Sacraments; (6) Christian Liberty, Church Government, and Discipline. The second edition has seventeen, the third twenty-one chapters. In the author's edition of 1559 it grew to five times its original size. Though the view point is the same, the elaboration is that of a master to whom the years brought their richest stores. According to Schaff, Calvin's doctrine is stated in more simple and less objectionable form. "He dwells on the comforting side of the doctrine, namely, the eternal election by the free grace of God in Christ, and leaves out the dark mystery of reprobation and preterition."[1] Yet as we shall see in the case of Servetus, Calvin had grown harder in his theory of the way in which such pests should be disposed of, and this appears in his *Institutes.*

Calvin was not satisfied with his first efforts,

[1] Schaff. Reformation in Switzerland. 334.

and did not rest until he had retouched his book many times. In the preface to the last edition, five years before his death, he says: "In the first edition of this work, not expecting that success which the Lord, in His infinite goodness hath given me, I handled the subject for the most part in a superficial manner, as is usual in small treatises. But when I understood that it had obtained from almost all pious persons such a favorable acceptance as I never could have presumed to wish, much less to hope, while I was conscious of receiving far more attention than I had deserved, I thought it would evince great ingratitude if I did not endeavor at least, according to my humble ability, to make some suitable return for the attentions paid to me—attentions of themselves calculated to stimulate my industry. Nor did I attempt this only in the second edition, but in every succeeding one the work has been improved in some farther enlargements. But though I repented not the labor then devoted to it, yet I never satisfied myself till it was arranged in the order in which it is now published. . . . I would rather it had been done sooner, but it is soon enough, if well enough. I shall think it has appeared at the proper time, when I shall find it to have been more beneficial than before to the Church of God. This is my only wish."

First edition or last, it was sufficient to put Calvin, at twenty-five as well as at fifty years of age, in the front of the thinkers of the world.

But Calvin was not only a writer. He was a preacher, an evangelist, and soon after the publication of the *Institutes,* or possibly before the printer had them ready for distribution, Calvin crossed Northern France to Italy, and there spent a few months at the brilliant court of the Duchess Renée. He had appealed to the King of France in a splendid Apology. He now sought the kinswoman of the monarch to secure from her, by personal solicitation, aid for his distressed countrymen, and also to strengthen her in the faith. He was destined to become her monitor after a lofty and judicious manner.

In a small upper *salon* of the palace of Versailles hangs a portrait of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara. Near by are Charles V, Christopher Columbus, Francis I, Rabelais, and Mary of England. A remarkable collection of worthies is this. The features of the Duchess are plain, their expression grave, the auburn hair stiffly curled, the high ruff and collar hinting the misshapen shoulder. The deep-set eyes tell of many trials. The mingled courage and kindness in the lines of the mouth reveal the character of the protector and friend of the Protestants. Even in her infancy she showed the family spirit—*un esprit tout de feu,* one all of fire. Her grandfather was at Agincourt, and when the day was lost had tried in vain to rally the French against the fierce plunges of the English. Her father was Louis XII of France, her mother a woman of high character, her governess, Madame

de Soubise, a member of a family afterward renowned for its sufferings in the cause of Protestantism. Her marriage with the Duke of Ferrara gave her a home in what was called "a miniature Florence." Enthusiasm is too tame a word with which to describe the new spirit of inquiry which was abroad in Italy. Upon her arrival in Ferrara, 1529, the Duchess chose for her private secretary Bernardo Tasso, father of Torquato Tasso, the poet. Artists, poets, philosophers, were always welcome at the palace. In 1535 two men reached Ferrara with letters of introduction from Queen Margaret of Navarre, the one John Calvin, the other his friend du Tillet. Calvin came under an assumed name, "Charles Espeville." This was all but universal when men had missions of private character, yet he seems not to have been disguised as to his true personality during his stay at the court, at least to the inner circle.

Calvin became the spiritual adviser of the Duchess for the rest of his life. A free correspondence of a singularly noble kind was kept up for many years. His last letter to her was written just twenty-three days before his death. Her court became a place of refuge, and to it fled Clément Marot, the Protestant poet. Marot became the private secretary of the Duchess, and at her suggestion he began his well known work of translating the Psalms into French. Their popularity was great in the highest as well as in the lowest circles of France. Francis I himself set the One

Hundred and Twenty-eighth Psalm to music, and yet a bit later it was made heresy to sing this collection when they had become a part of the simple liturgy of the Church at Geneva.

In time the husband's displeasure fell upon the Duchess, and at his charge of heresy her Protestant attendants were removed, and their places taken by Italians, at which Rabelais, writing from Italy, said, "It does n't look well." Her husband's confessor said: "She remained obstinately fixed in her heretical opinions." After a period of humiliation in which the Inquisition was invited to examine her, she regained her freedom. Upon the death of her husband she left Ferrara, rather than change her religion. Calvin wrote to dissuade her from going to the court of France, but was unable to move her. She did not lack courage, and faced the evils and perils of her grandfather's court with fixed will. At the time of the arrest of the Prince of Condé by the Guises, her voice alone rang with indignation. She said to her son-in-law, a Guise, "Have a care, Monsieur; this is a wound that will bleed long!"

Naturally the severity of the Duke d'Este towards the Protestants rendered it impossible for Calvin to long remain at the castle. But before he left Ferrara he greatly fortified the faith of those who were sick of Romanism. Without any idea of his future residence he left for the North, headed it is thought for some spot in Germany, where he could retire to a quiet study and think and write

for the Reformers' cause. Beyond this he seems not to have had a thought. His experiences as he wandered from place to place in Piedmont reflected the friendly or the inimical spirit which his presence aroused. He remained in Piedmont several weeks in the neighborhood of Aosta, at the home of a family of rank, but at the spread of the alarm and orders to arrest Calvin "and all others of his party," he started over the mountains. It was with difficulty that he escaped through perilous Alpine passes, wherein he was, according to an ancient tradition, pursued by the Marshal d'Aosta to the very foot of the mountains with a drawn sword in his hand. The tradition may have slender foundation. But that Calvin's flight was regarded as a memorable event is certified by a Cross in Aosta. In 1541 a fountain topped by a cross was erected in the main street at the market-place of Aosta, and the following inscription may be read to-day by the traveler:

HANC
CALVINI FUGA
EREXIT ANNO MDXLI.
RELIGIONIS CONSTANTIA REPARAVIT
ANNO MDCCXLI.
CIVIUM PIETAS
RENOVAVIT ET ADORNAVIT
ANNO MDCCCXLI.

"This Cross, erected in 1541, in memory of Calvin's flight, restored in 1741 by faithful believers, was renewed and ornamented in 1841 by the piety of the Citizens."

Seldom thus do "the faithful" celebrate their deliverance from a foe so dangerous to the stability of the ancient order. Calvin's presence, even at that young age, and without the great fame that came later on in his life, gave them concern. The Cross in the market-place, on which they chiseled their own gratitude over the expulsion of the plague of their homes, has also preserved the name and suggested the might of an exile who was surpassed in fame by only one other exile of Italy—the sad-browed Florentine, Dante.

Calvin had been thrust out of Italy, never to return. He could get no welcome among his own race, the Latin, and in his quandary bent his steps towards Basel or Strassburg. But overcome by some impulse now unknown, he visited for the last time his boyhood home, and by his preaching influenced several of his kinsmen to accept the new religion. Among others were his sister Marie and his only remaining brother, Antoine. In company with them he set out for Basel, but as hostilities had freshly broken out between Francis I and Charles V he avoided Lorraine, the seat of war, and journeyed on by way of Geneva. He intended to remain in the city only over night. But his destiny was linked to that of the city in a way he could not foresee. Neither the stranger alighting in front of the tavern for a night's lodging, nor the little city, glowing with pride over its lately won independence, could hope to understand each other

for some time. "The Pearl of the Alps" had for coat-of-arms a shield parted *per pale,* with a key on one side and half an eagle on the other. The people in jest declared it represented half a turkey and a key to the wine cellar. True or not, this was not altogether foreign to the general reputation of the city.

A generation passed by, and the city discovered that the man had come to unlock a new future, in which keys to wine cellars were to have little part.

CHAPTER IV.

GENEVA BEFORE CALVIN.

Geneva was the last of the Subalpine cities to revolt from Rome, yet it came to be the symbol and center of the sternest and most impregnable opposition to the old faith. It ultimately absorbed, perpetuated, and glorified the life of the exile of Noyon. To no other city of Europe could Calvin have gone for such a favorable vantage ground of defense of his reform as this independent little metropolitan city offered to him. Though it refused all at once to do his bidding, later on it fully incorporated his spirit. There was nothing sluggish about the life of Geneva, nothing wooden, nothing inanimate. As late as July, 1880, the sensitive Amiel could truly say in his *Journal Intime:* "Geneva is a cauldron always at the boiling point, a furnace of which the fires are never extinguished. Vulcan had more than one forge, and Geneva is certainly one of those world-anvils on which the greatest number of projects have been hammered out. When one thinks that the martyrs of all causes have been at work here, the mystery is explained a little; but the truest explanation is that

Geneva—republican, Protestant, learned, and enterprising Geneva—has for centuries depended upon herself for the solution of her own difficulties. Since the Reformation she has always been on the alert, marching with a lantern in her left hand and a sword in her right."[1] "Lantern and Sword" from the days of Calvin, and even from earlier days, but from him indubitably the lantern got a brighter radiance and the sword a keener edge, which shone and cut to the dismay of the enemies of the great little city and of its new faith.

Before the thirteenth century ushered in upon Europe its new life, the counts and the bishops of Geneva had struggled for temporal control, with the victory going to the ecclesistical lords, but with the new age there came a new force to which appeal was made by the Genevan bishops for aid against their rivals. The House of Savoy proved too strong for the bishops whom it aided, and in the end dictated the appointment of the episcopal deputy for temporal administration, or *vicedominus,* a post which the Savoy rulers controlled until 1528. Meanwhile the burghers began to demand recognition, and by 1387 secured the right of gathering in a General Assembly to choose administrative officers. These were four "syndics," selected annually, and a treasurer chosen for a term of three years. Out of this there quickly developed the "Little Council," ultimately of twenty-five members,

[1] Amiel's Journal. 2, 301.

the inner executive body of the interests of the burghers. A second Council, soon attaining the number of sixty, was established to discuss matters not easily debatable in the General Assembly.

The tendency to aristocratic control is evident in the fact that the "Little Council," from 1459 onward, designated the membership of this larger Council. The division of authority between the bishop, the *vidomne,* and the citizens, and the consequent struggles for authority lasted until the third decade of the sixteenth century. But during three generations before Calvin's arrival aristocratic use of popular power was a well established fact in Geneva. The times when the little city was melting its bells for cannon and men went to church and worked on the fortifications with arms in their hands, in the struggles with the bishop and the duke, were highly favorable for the development of the finest mettle for self-government. Up to 1533 the conflict was almost wholly of a political type against the bishop and the duke as temporal rulers hostile to the chartered rights of Geneva. But with the increasing dependence of Geneva upon Bern, which had adopted the principles of the Reformation in 1528, and with the desire for reform at home aroused by the fiery preaching of Farel, who had entered the city armed with a letter from Bern, Geneva declared for reform, for resistance to papal abuses, and in favor of Bern and the "Word of God." Yet the spirit of the

authorities in granting to Farel the right of free preaching was not that of thorough-going reformers, rather that of conservative politicians. The magistrates moved slowly. The party in for vigorous measures grew in importance. Formal Protestantism was not declared until as late as 1535. The two Councils which had assumed the lapsed civil functions of the bishop and the Chapter now began to widen their authority. Under pressure from Farel they took in hand the introduction of reform into the outlying villages. This expansion stirred up Bern to military protest, and only the stubborn soul of the little commonwealth enabled her finally to achieve independence, both of enemies and quasi friends, and to assert herself an independent republic with nearly thirty dependent villages.

Genuine moral reform soon walked with the political change. Fearless preachers like Paul Viret and William Farel were unconsciously preparing the way for the more commanding work of John Calvin. Farel is worth no small space in our story, for though he pales in the light that he introduced into Geneva, the vast personality of Calvin, he yet did a work and lived a life that bound him with hooks of steel to the greater man whom he in splendid self-abnegation persuaded to stay in Geneva.

William Farel was born at Gap, a small town in the hills of Dauphiné, where the Waldensian faith had once widely spread. He grew up an

ardent papist, and fully believed in the efficacy of works, pilgrimages, and relics. Yet his thirst for knowledge took him to Paris, where he studied the ancient languages, philosophy, and theology. His principal teacher was Jacques Le Fèvre d' Etaples, the pioneer of the Reformation in France. Le Fèvre said to him in 1512: "My son, God will renew the world, and you will witness it." This was more than made good in the restless, and sometimes fierce, and nearly always successful evangelism of Farel. His radicalism compelled his flight to Basel in 1523. There, and in the neighborhood, he held public disputations, delivered lectures, and preached sermons of such power that Oecolampadius wrote to Luther that Farel was a match for the Sorbonne. To Erasmus he was a disturber of the peace, and in a moment of distrust the Council expelled him from the city. In Bern he found warmer welcome, and under the auspices of the Reformed Church of that commonwealth he labored as a sort of missionary bishop throughout that part of Switzerland, turning every stump into a pulpit and mightily arousing the people both for and against his doctrine. He justified his appointment, for the little churches he planted in the southwest corner of the Canton of Bern were the first in the ranks of strictly French Protestantism. "With a daring often intrusive, a zeal not always courteous, and a rough poetry in his utterances he traversed the whole country." He was violent, but only in language,

and amid hisses, shrieks, and flying missiles he would silence the crowd by his self-command, and then in his own eloquent style he would persuade his revilers to listen to his message. He was the Whitefield of his day in Switzerland. Perils only increased his audacity. He made the cathedrals that were stained with his blood ring with the echoes of his penetrating voice. At Neufchâtel he so impressed his audience with the truth that the citizens shouted for reform, and cleansed the church of all papal apparatus, and in memory of the event inscribed upon a pillar of the church: "On October 23, 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from this church by the citizens." This city became the first center of a presbyterial organization in French Switzerland.

In 1531 Farel wrote to Zwingli: "I learn that Geneva has thoughts of accepting Jesus Christ." In her journal of 1532 the literary nun, Jeanne de Jussie, made the following interesting note: "A shabby little preacher, one Master William, of Dauphiny, has just arrived in the city." Forthwith a sensation sprang up, for Farel made indifference to himself and his message impossible. The allied Cantons under the guidance of Bern backed the evangelist, and Geneva was induced to give the truth a free hearing. In a great debate, Peter Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was defeated, and the people began to yield to deeper convictions of the saving power of the simple Gospel. Farel

urged the Council to make the establishment of the Reformation a thing of law. An edict of August 27th abolished the papal system. On the shield of the city the inscription, "After Darkness, I hope for Light," was changed to "Post Tenebras, Lux." The priests and nuns gradually took their departure. The sprightly Jeanne de Jussie tells of the going to Annecy: "It was a piteous thing to see this holy company in such a plight, so overcome with fatigue and grief that several swooned by the way. It was rainy weather, and all were compelled to walk through muddy roads, except four poor invalids who were in a carriage. There were six poor old women who had taken their vows more than sixteen years before. Two of these who were past sixty-six, and had never seen anything of the world, fainted away repeatedly. They could not bear the wind; and when they saw the cattle in the fields, they took the cows for bears, and the long wooled sheep for ravening wolves." It took the nuns from five in the morning till near midnight to go a short league to Annecy.

The conclusion of the nun who writes with picture-making fidelity is that the upheaval was a just punishment of the faithless clergy, who, she said, "squandered dissolutely the ecclesiastical property, keeping women in adultery and lubricity, and awakening the anger of God, which brought divine judgment upon them." History has no disproof of the quickwitted nun's statement.

So the people of Geneva changed front. Now, without a bishop and with freedom from tyranny already won, they were their own masters. Yet they suffered from confusion. That they did not at once cut loose from the discipline of the past is evident from the various acts by which the Council strove to order the life of the city. For under the advice of Farel and from their sense of the need of preventing social and moral anarchy they adopted measures to promote good order, after a striking fashion, and this too with Calvin nowhere in sight. For they put the whole matter of regulating the moral order of Geneva to a popular vote. The crowd may not have known just what they were voting for, but the leaders of the city evidently did not care to take so important a step without the support of the populace.

On Sunday, May 21, 1536, the whole body of citizens with uplifted hands took the following oath. After the first syndic, M. Claude Savoy, had proposed the resolutions, "without any dissenting voice, it was generally voted, and with hands raised in air resolved and promised and sworn before God, that we all by the aid of God desire to live in this holy evangelical law and Word of God, as it has been announced to us, desiring to abandon all masses, images, idols, and all which may pertain thereto, to live in union and obedience to justice. . . . Also voted to try to secure a competent man for the school, with sufficient salary to enable him

to maintain and teach the poor free; and that every one be bound to send his children to the school and have them learn; and all the pupils and teachers to be bound to go into residence at the great school where the Rector and his Bachelors shall be."

The vow to provide free education and to require all to get schooling is as typical of the coming Puritan State as the vow to obey God. The church and the school got together early in the history of Puritanism.

By 1536, entirely aside from any dictation of an intruder, as the Galiffes have been wont to call Calvin, the Councils had assumed the entire control of morals and religion, now doing with a free hand what they had formerly shared with the ecclesiastical rulers. February 28, 1536, the Two Hundred issues a formal proclamation prohibiting blasphemy; profane oaths; card playing; protection of adulterers, thieves, and vagabonds; selling bread or wine save at reasonable established prices; and unauthorized holding of taverns. There was to be no holiday save Sunday; no coming of brides to weddings with head uncovered; no baptizing or marrying by private persons; no hearing mass within or without the city. New England did not invent "blue laws;" nor did Old England; nor did John Calvin. "They were rather the *sequelae* of the Middle Ages. They are the attempts of the new Protestant State to take over the personal su-

pervision exercised by the mediaeval state and guild."

However earnest the civil power was to organize Genevan society after the expression of its new convictions, it must not be thought that the actions above narrated righted all matters at once. The citizenship of the city did indeed consider itself sufficient for control in place of the deposed bishop, but it remained for Calvin in his farewell address to say of the state at his coming: "In this church there was well nigh nothing. There was preaching, and that is all. . . . All was in confusion."

The usual exaggeration of the condition of unchecked anarchy which is said to have characterized Geneva before the arrival of Calvin will need to be taken with serious modification. The Catholics tell it, for it sullies the Reformation; the hero-worshiper of Calvin tells it, for he is thus enabled to glorify the Reformer who came in the nick of time to prevent a collapse of the cause in jeopardy of its own freedom. One must imagine a city in which there was not a little discord due to the shock of change, the flocking in of political refugees, the unsettled results of factional contentions both civil and religious, the inability of leaders like the impulsive Farel to allay strife and supplant it with settled peace, and it is not difficult to picture a situation calling loudly for the coming and supremacy of a master mind and will. And yet a city not peculiarly worse than other

cities, not more lawless, nor more helpless to adjust its life in harmony with the new life and light and impulse which were beginning to illuminate and thrill the peoples of Western Europe.

Before Calvin came there was intolerance. The case of John Balard is of interest and not without pathetic character. In the Register of the City Council we have the following entry for July 24, 1536: "John Balard was interrogated wherefore he refused to hear the Word of God? He replied that he believed in God, who taught him by His Spirit. He could not believe our preachers. He said that we could not compel him to go to the sermon against his conscience. . . . We admonished him that he should within three days obey the proclamation or show just cause why he should not. He replied: 'I desire to live according to God's Gospel, but I do not wish to follow it according to the interpretation of any private persons, but according to the interpretation of the Holy Spirit through the Holy Church universal in which I believe. Balard.'" This his creed, written in his own hand on a scrap of paper is sewn with a faded red thread to the records of that day. Though Balard held high offices, he was compelled to yield to the resistless current which was sweeping Geneva away from its ancient moorings. He was required to give "affirmative or negative answer" as to the mass, and wrote: "The mass is bad." Balard was a traditionalist it may be imagined, but he was a

sane official of repute, who was compelled to submit his religious scruples to his political necessities. He was up before the Council on several occasions, significant in that they were not during the time of Calvin's presence in the city, for the first inquisition was dated July, 1536, before Calvin's coming, and the last in 1539, at a time when Calvin was in forced exile in Strassburg. Europe did not wait to herald the appearance of Calvin with the show of intolerance, and give its hateful and bitter spirit the various exhibitions which array themselves upon the pages of all histories of those times, but, if Catholic, flung itself with tremendous energy into the business of suppressing heresy at all hazards, and if Protestant, did not hesitate to give the stranger within its gates of orthodoxy a most chilling welcome.

It must not be concluded that though the people shook off the yoke of lord and bishop, Geneva at this early date, or ever during Calvin's rule, solved the question of representative government. Slowly she made her way into the light of the modern world. In the vital changes from the old to the new faith the "Commune" had acted in their sovereign capacity, but in the struggle for independence and order there had been a growing tendency to concentrate power in the hands of a few men, "conservative, responsible, and experienced." This was adopted by Calvin after seven years' testing, and by John Winthrop in Massa-

chusetts Bay, a hundred years later. It was efficient, but not without its perils to liberty. It is true that the mettlesome spirit of the people saved Geneva from falling into the grasp of despots, and the influence of the preachers was not inactive in preventing the magistrates from absorbing all authority, and it was not until after both Calvin and Beza, his great successor, were gone that the aristocrats rose superior to the democrats, and developed a dangerous social and political supremacy. Long before the French Revolution, there were as many as three distinct upheavals in Geneva, in 1707, 1735-38, and 1782, in which the aristocracy suffered assault.

What have we then in this eventful day? Before Calvin Geneva had not adopted democracy; nor freedom of conscience; nor liberty of worship; nor personal liberty; she had legislated upon matters of amusement, commerce, sermons, holidays, and even styles in hair-dressing. The Church had less right of initiative in the first days of the attempts at reform under Farel than under Calvin, if indeed it can be said to have had any at all. "It had no rights of either property, discipline, revision of membership, or choice of pastors." [1]

This much in a general way we can affirm; that Geneva was ready for Calvin. She had a peculiar temper which for lack of a better word

[1] See the very able article of A. D. Foster in Amer. Hist. Rev. Jan. 1903.

may be called "mentality," and she could appreciate the presence of a master mind. Many Protestant writers have overshot the mark in cataloguing her vices before the coming of Calvin, for no people surrendered to immorality could have developed such brilliant wit and maintained such noble defense against a cordon of enemies. The Genevans were a complex people. They loved pleasures, they were the inheritors of the feudal noisiness and much given to turbulence. Processions, games and dancing were to their taste. Shrewd at a bargain they were not always scrupulous; self-assertive, they earned their independence. Thrifty, they gathered fortunes. Intelligent, they welcomed scholars. Public-spirited, loving liberty, what they swore to support they died for. Near France, they were something else than French; neighbors to Italy, they were not Italian; nor were they German because they got glimpses of the Rhine. Full of contradictions, they were full of charm. As one of their own well known citizens, Bonivard, the "Prisoner of Chillon," said in his *Chronicles:* "One might kill them rather than make them consent to that from which they had once dissented. . . . Otherwise they were for the most part thoughtless and devoted to their pleasures; but the war, necessarily, the reformation of religion, voluntarily, withdrew them therefrom." So it seems that what Geneva did in schooling herself to lead the hosts of Puritanism in the middle

of the sixteenth century she did of her own accord, Bonivard being witness.

Into this volatile, sturdy, pleasure-loving, contentious, masterful, loyal community, the right man came at the right time to put the impress of his imperial genius upon its plastic life, and to make the impression so sure that some centuries passed by before the outlines of the image were seriously dulled, and so vital that its capacity for reproduction in other and distant lands has become the marvel of historians.

CHAPTER V.

CALVIN'S FIRST SOJOURN IN GENEVA.

Two MONTHS after the public sanction to the Reformation in Geneva (May 21st), Calvin stepped from a carriage of slender proportions in front of a tavern in the city. The date was in the latter part of July, not, as given by some, in August. His desire was to make a short stay in the city, and to proceed on his journey in the morning. Clad in simple habit he appeared the scholar that he was, a thin, abstemious, bookish man. His countenance was pale, and according to one writer, E. Haag, his beard was cut *à la François,* his eye a brilliant black, his bearing one of purpose.

His arrival was the turning point of his life; its effect upon Geneva was incalculable. Of it Montesquieu says: "The Genevese ought to observe the day of his arrival in their city as a festival." The zeal of his friend du Tillet made known to Farel that Calvin was in the city, and this unselfish man immediately set about to hold him for the good of Geneva. Farel had given himself to the work of renovating the city, but had reached his limit of influence after the primary impulse had

been expended, and the author of the *Institutes* was to the fervent soul an answer of God to his prayer. Under Calvin there might be secured such a momentum as none other could give. Farel brought all his energy to bear upon the newcomer to gain his consent to remain. To Calvin's plea that he wished to study in Germany, and to his word "I can not bind myself to one Church. I would be useful to all," Farel opposed his utmost persuasions. Calvin pleaded his youth, his natural timidity, and his inexperience in affairs of public action. Farel thundered and threatened, and overbore Calvin's protests. Long time after Calvin wrote: "I was kept in Geneva, not properly by an express exhortation or request, but rather by the terrible threatenings of William Farel, which were as if God had seized me by His awful hand from Heaven. So I was compelled to give up the plan of my journey, but yet without pledging myself to undertake any definite office, for I was conscious of my timidity and weakness."

Merle d'Aubignè's dramatic account of the interview must be taken with reserve, as some of the facts he narrates have no origin save in his imagination.

Calvin did not immediately rush to prominence. Farel was for awhile, at least, in the popular view, the chief minister of the Protestant movement in Geneva. And yet Farel was justified in his expectation that Calvin would prove a master workman

in the organization of the Genevan Church, for in the speedy preparation of the Articles dealing with Church government, of the Catechism, and of the Confession of Faith, of which last Farel was the main composer, though expressing the mind of Calvin, the masterful presence of the newcomer was evident. First, his colleagues, then the leaders of government, finally the mass of the people felt his strong hand in the life of Geneva.

It was not until February 13, 1537, and some time after an earnest appeal on the part of Farel to the Little Council for the grant of an adequate sum for Calvin's support, that an amount was ordered, six gold crowns, and yet so unknown was Calvin to the clerk that in the entry of the request for the grant he referred to Calvin as "Iste Gallus"—"That Frenchman." The solitary exile, with few intimate friends, moneyless, and sure of only a night's lodging, was always a poor man, but by sheer force of will and unwonted mental activity and a profound conviction of the imperative need of reform, he did finally succeed in becoming the leader of every circle in which he was thrown. We say advisedly, not at first, for too many conflicting currents of opinion and practice made such mastery impossible at one stroke. Calvin failed in his first attempt to bed the principles of the Reformation in the hearts and consciences of the Genevese.

Before the coming of Calvin it had been voted

by the Council, May 24, 1536, to draft Articles to secure the "unity of the State." On November 10th, following, prompt approval was given to a plan submitted by Farel.[1] January 16, 1537, the records of the Little Council show that Articles were submitted "given by MeG. Farel and other preachers." There can be little doubt that in these not only the mind but the very language of Calvin are embodied, for thoughts and words of the *Institutes* are unmistakable.

Calvin's main purpose was to secure a religious community. For fear that the too frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper would cheapen that holy rite, he recommended its observance once a month. To protect this sacred ordinance against all mistreatment he urged that all unworthy celebrants should be excluded. Here we reach the core of his efforts to gain his ends—by their provision to enforce church discipline, the Articles get their significance. The proposition to establish a censorship of morals is quite evident from the following, laid by the ministers before the Council:

"Our Lord established communication as a means of correction and discipline, by which those who led a disorderly life unworthy of a Christian, and who despised to mend their ways and to return to the strait way after they had been admonished, should be expelled from the body of the Church and cut off as rotten members until they come to themselves and acknowledge their fault.

[1] Professor W. Walker is of the opinion that the plan of Farel was simply of anti-Roman character. John Calvin, p. 185.

. . . We have an example given by St. Paul (1 Tim. i and 1 Cor. v), in a solemn warning that we should not keep company with one who is called a Christian, but who is, none the less, a fornicator, covetous, an idolator, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner. So if there be in us any fear of God, this ordinance should be enforced in our Church.

"To accomplish this we have determined to petition you (i. e., the town council) to establish and choose, according to your good pleasure certain persons (namely, the elders) of upright life and good repute among all the faithful, likewise constant and not easy to corrupt, who shall be assigned and distributed in all parts of the town and have an eye on the life and conduct of every individual. If one of these see any obvious vice which is to be reprehended, he shall bring this to the attention of some one of the ministers, who shall admonish whoever it may be who is at fault, and exhort him in a brotherly way to correct his ways. If it is apparent that such remonstrance do no good, he shall be warned that his obstinacy will be reported to the Church. Then if he repents, there is in that alone excellent fruit of this form of discipline. If he will not listen to warnings, it shall be time for the minister, being informed by those who have the matter in charge, to declare publicly in the congregation the efforts which have been made to bring the sinner to amend, and how all has been in vain.

"Should it appear that he proposes to persevere in his hardness of heart, it shall be time to excommunicate him; that is to say, that the offender shall be regarded as cast out from the companionship of Christians, and left in the power of the devil for his temporal confusion, until he shall give proof of penitence and amendment. In sign of his casting out he shall be excluded from the communion, and the faithful shall be forbidden to hold familiar converse with him. Nevertheless he shall not omit to attend

the sermons in order to receive instruction, so that it may be seen whether it shall please the Lord to turn his heart to the right way.

"The offenses to be corrected in this manner are those named by St. Paul above, and others like them. When others than the said deputies—for example, neighbors or relatives—shall first have knowledge of such offenses, they may make the necessary remonstrances themselves. If they accomplish nothing, then they shall notify the deputies to do their duty.

"This, then, is the manner in which it would seem expedient to us to introduce excommunication into our Church and maintain it in its full force; for beyond this form of correction the Church does not go. But should there be insolent persons, abandoned to all perversity, who only laugh when they are excommunicated, and do not mind living and dying in that condition of rejection, it shall be your affair to determine whether you should long suffer such contempt and mocking of God to pass unpunished. . . .

"If those who agree with us in faith should be punished by excommunication for their offenses, how much more should the Church refuse to tolerate those who oppose us in religion? The remedy that we have thought of is to petition you to require all the inhabitants of your city to make a confession and give account of their faith, so that you may know who agree with the gospel, and who, on the contrary, would prefer the kingdom of the pope to the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

To the pleasure-loving Genevese this was a most drastic programme. The Protestantism which was confined to independence of the control of Rome, and even the establishment of a new doctrinal basis was not so obnoxious to them, but

when the French theologian, with his exalted and over-scrupulous morality proposed to become a censor of morals and a master of discipline, they resented his intrusion. Not all, indeed, but for the time the "liberals" held the upper hand. Calvin with his Confession, his Catechism, and his Discipline, was too sudden an incursion into the field of their old life for any wise man to hope for the immediate triumph of the new reform. Doubtless there was enough vice to warrant reasonable vigor in attempts to suppress it, and no one can fail to commend the purity of the motive that lay back of Calvin's plan, yet no one will deny that the methods used were unwise. When in 1537 the four newly elected syndics upheld the ministers in compelling the Council and all the citizens to swear to the Confession, the opposition began to stir its strength. Many people refused outright, as might have been expected, to support the new regime.

The young men chafed, the liberal patriots struggled in the net, the French refugees upheld Calvin. These last played a rather conspicuous part in the present contention. They have been the subjects of malignant opprobrium on the part of their enemies, who have counted them as interlopers, and held worthy of eulogism by those whose sympathies have been on the side of exiles in search of homes and good order, of relief from persecution, and the reformation of society. The facts seem to be; these immigrants had been the vic-

tims, and those following them from France were also in later years, of merciless treatment. Some of them had been eminent enough to attract attention to their "heresy." They bore with them visible evidences of their ability to take the consequences of their adherence to the new faith. They had not been silenced on their native soil by fire, sword, and noose, and were wont to express themselves as to their doctrinal position wherever their exile bore them. Their arrivals in Geneva had not been unnoticed before the coming of Calvin, and they were numerous enough in 1536 to excite the jealousy of the native patriots. A crisis was soon reached, not on the merits of the new discipline, but on a point of ceremony.

It was a blunder to decree that all who refused to sign the Confession should take their departure from the city; to employ force of civil law to purify the church by punishing vices and follies was not a stroke of genius in statesmanship, at least from the modern point of view. Calvin was still a young man, and had no small sense of the worth of his own views; he had been urged against his will to stay in Geneva to lead in the reform, and, true to his nature, what he did at all he did with all his might. He led on too fast, for the time. His aim was the independent self-government of the Church. He had not originated the regulation of private conduct; that was a peculiarity of Geneva at his coming. But he made a serious attempt to

recover for the Church, itself a creature of the State and regulated by the State, the right of independent discipline. Within the limits of its own power, the Church was not to look to the State for aid in the enforcement of its discipline, and the State was not to be called upon until such time as the Church was proved to be unable to control its own recalcitrant members.

The reformers contended for the right of excommunication in cases of stubborn disobedience; the magistrates were not unwilling to assist in the maintenance of discipline, but did not commit themselves at once to the clause of excommunication. The whole people were not to be brought into line by such restrictions as Calvin desired to impose. Many of the influential citizens refused to take the oath of the Confession. The Council found it impossible to enforce the stiff moral regimen. In the general election of February, 1538, the anti-clerical party managed to elect four syndics and a majority of the Council, among whom were avowed enemies of Calvin.

The political overturn was complete, and the jeers of the populace at Farel and Calvin reflected the new attitude of the authorities toward the reformers. A harsh order with regard to some of the friends of Calvin brought down upon the Council of Two Hundred severe denunciation on the part of Calvin and his yoke-fellow, and there was passed an order by the Council forbidding them

"to mix in politics, but to preach the Gospel as God has commanded." The same session of the Two Hundred voted "to live under the Word of God according to the ordinances of the lords of Bern." To a man of Calvin's temper this was too insulting to be borne, for it cut away completely all his plan for self-initiative on the part of the Church, and left in the hands of the civil power the determination of even the ritual of the Church.

To return now to the point of the ceremony involved. The declination of the new rulers to adopt a thoroughgoing policy of reform aroused the reformers to an iron-willed devotion to their principles. Yield? Not they. Not an inch. They thundered against vices and charged the Council with want of energy in their neglect to use proper means for improving the moral condition of Geneva. The return stroke was not long in falling. March 12th Couralt, who was even more vehement than Farel, was ordered to cease preaching. But, undismayed, he took the pulpit on April 7th, and lashed the people and magistrates of Geneva without distinction. He compared the State of Geneva to the kingdom of frogs, and the Genevese to rats. The limit of forbearance was at hand, and the fiery preacher was imprisoned, then deported to Thonon, on the lake shore, where his death before the close of the year removed one of the stirrers of strife from the city. To Calvin and Farel, however, this harshness was merely reason for fresh

denunciation of the Council. Calvin called it the "Devil's Council," and had a tumult in the city on short notice. Libels flew around the ministers. In the cool of the evening they heard the raucous voices of street idlers crying out: "To the Rhone with the traitors!"

The climax was reached Easter Sunday, April 21st, when Calvin preached from the pulpit of St. Peter's, and Farel from that of St. Gervais. They had been ordered by the authorities to celebrate the Easter Communion after the Bernese fashion, but had refused to do so, owing to the existing state of insubordination, and, as they alleged, to the lamentable debauchery of some members of the church who persisted in coming to the table of the Lord. The preachers determined that God should not be mocked with desecration, and they refused to distribute the elements. This made the breach complete.

To comprehend the gravity of the situation, one must know the claims of Bern to right of offering its services to its younger ally. Geneva had not been unwilling to accept the advice of Bern, and indeed had generally adopted the suggestions of the Bernese Republic. But when the pastors of Bern ventured to suggest the retention of the font, and of certain fêtes, Christmas, New Year's, Annunciation, and Ascension Day, and the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper, there was friction. All these Calvin had suppressed. While

he did not lay stress upon ceremonies, he certainly did not share the fanatic scorn of the ignorant touching some of the Catholic rites. His theology may have been narrow in some respects, but his attitude towards the English Prayer-Book had in it a reflection of his general compass of mind: "The Book of Common Prayer had in it tolerabiles ineptias; some follies, which, however, might be easily allowed to pass." In his catechism which he published in 1538, at Basel, he said: "We should rather endeavor (to secure) a unity of doctrine and spirit among Christians than pettedly insist on establishing certain ceremonies. Little will be said of forms on the Day of Judgment."

While it may be possible to discover in this statement of 1538 an indirect attempt to correct the efforts of the Bernese to clap their rites upon the Genevese in 1537, at any rate when Calvin was summoned by the Council to conform in 1537 to the Bernese usages, he stoutly refused to compromise the independence of the Genevan Church by adopting them. With this spirit he and his companion had delivered their minds on Easter Day and had withheld the elements, for fear of profaning "so holy a mystery" under the circumstances of popular tumult. That there was reason in their refusal may be granted when we hear of the presence of many hearers with drawn swords, and whose noisy objections drowned the voices of the preachers. The services closed and friends gath-

ered about to give safe conduct home to the ministers. An ordinary man would have felt that he had sufficiently waved his colors in the face of the enemy, but John Calvin was not an ordinary man. Despite the fact that the Little Council was summoned immediately, and called the Two Hundred together for the day following, and the General Assembly for the day thereafter, Calvin delivered another sermon at night on Easter Day in the Church of St. Francis at Rive in the lower part of the city. Here he was again threatened with violence.

By a large vote of the General Assembly April 23d, Calvin and Farel were ordered to leave Geneva within three days. No sign of dismay was evident in the appearance and words of the two men, Farel, who said to the messenger, "Well and good; it is from God;" and Calvin, who remarked: "It is better to serve God than man. If we had sought to please men, we should have been badly rewarded, but we serve a higher Master, who will not withhold from us our reward." The dry pages of the Register of the Council on which were entered the words the messenger brought back, tell their own story of the uncrushed spirit of Calvin, for he left Geneva immediately for Bern and laid the case before the authorities of that city. Bern was desirous of securing conformity touching ceremonies, but had good cause to fear for the safety of the Protestant reform in Geneva, and appealed to

Geneva for modification of its legislation. Geneva refused to listen. Meanwhile Calvin and Farel pushed on to Zurich and sought the interference of the Synod which was in session April 28th. Before this body they declared that in their attitude there was no objection to the Bernese rites if the liberties of the individual church were not affected, but they reaffirmed their position regarding a programme for church reform. They got some sympathy from the Synod, though they were advised to use more tactful ways of gaining the end desired in the midst of a people unused to rigorous discipline. The Synod also sent them to Bern with recommendation for support in their purpose to gain admission to Geneva, and to this Bern lent a willing hand, but when the embassy dispatched by Bern with Calvin and Farel approached Geneva they found a hostile order refusing them entrance, and were compelled to turn back. Geneva confirmed the sentence of banishment, May 28th, and fell to rejoicing over the victory by which baptismal fonts and unleavened bread were to be used by unregenerate communicants. It remained to be seen how far they could make safe pilgrimage towards the goal unguided by the man they had pushed out. For the present, they were glad to go on without interference, dictation, or inspiration from John Calvin.

For his part he left Geneva, having failed, but undisgraced. His natural impetuosity did not

easily adjust itself to the party strifes of the contentious community all too slowly going, as he thought, towards a self-governing, orderly, Christian city. The exiles bent their faces to Basel, where they had good welcome. Shortly Farel went to Neufchâtel, and two months later Calvin left for Strassburg.

CHAPTER VI.

YEARS OF EXILE.

The city in which Calvin found refuge was a free imperial city of Germany, a sort of connecting link between Germany, France and Switzerland, and hospitable for the present to all Protestants, so that those from France styled it the New Jerusalem. Having accepted the Reformation in 1523 in a spirit of evangelical friendship for the two types of Protestantism, the Lutheran and the Zwinglian, it became a clearing house for theological harmony, and influenced by Martin Bucer, a leader in irenic thought. Distinguished refugees from France turned their steps thither with special hopes of undisturbed enjoyment of free speech, free worship, and freedom for organizing their memberships into self-governing communities. The later intolerance which attached to Strassburg did not at this time hinder Calvin from finding sympathetic welcome.

He reached Strassburg the first days of September, 1538, and preached his first sermon on the 8th of the same month. The leaders of the Church gave him their confidence and open arms, and he

received the appointment by the Council of professor of theology, with a small salary accompanying. That it was insufficient we are not in doubt, and only the proferred kindness of an intimate friend, du Tillet, revealed to the deeply-wounded and chagrined scholar that he need not depend upon official support, if only he would become content to withhold himself from public activity. This Calvin could not do, and he declined the aid offered by his old friend, who, by the way, was now turning his face back to Romanism. Calvin's financial distress was oftentimes very real. To make ends meet he swelled the fifty-two florins of annual salary which he got from the authorities, by taking young French students to board. To his beloved Farel he wrote: "I am so needy, that I have not a cent in my pocket. You will be unwilling to credit how expensive it is to keep house." Farel managed to send him some money for lifting the temporary burden. But the proud-spirited man made it a condition that he should accept no more than he could hope to repay within a reasonable time. He worked on, not infrequently without the plainest necessities of life, but noted for a remarkable generosity which gave to others all above his bare living.

Yet he had an increasing number of friends, was happy in his work, and steadily ripened for the severe struggles awaiting him in the future. It was a fortunate respite for him, and he grew in

self-restraint, and power of control of the elements of conflict. He broadened his views of the work of the Reformation, coming as he did in contact with the leaders of the Lutheran Church. While he deplored their lack of discipline, and the slavish dependence of the clergy upon the princes, he found welcome at several of their Colloquies summoned for the settlement of disputed questions. As delegate he attended the diets or conferences of Frankfort, Hagenau, Worms, and Ratisbon, to aid in finding some common ground of unity. The task was a delicate and difficult one, nor were the German, Swiss, and French Churches harmonized, nor the Lutherans and Zwinglians reconciled on the question of the Eucharist. At that time no man was equal to the solution of the problem. In these meetings Calvin became more or less intimate with Melanchthon and other leaders, and their valuation of him appears in the words with which they characterized him,—*"The Theologian."* He never met Luther. It troubled him that Luther refused to moderate his terms in the argument with Zwingli on the subject of the Lord's Supper, on which the great German never entirely broke with the Roman Church, while the Swiss advanced to the most modern views. Calvin thought more of Luther personally than of Zwingli, and yet he declared: "The Swiss may therefore be excused if they distrust the attempts at reunion; Luther's pride compels them to do so."

While dealing with his growing friendship with some of the German Reformers, it may be well to carry to the conclusion the facts touching Calvin's regard for Luther. Though not able to cultivate any first-hand knowledge of the chief hero of the Reformation, Calvin saw the heart of the German, and at a time later on when certain persons desiring to irritate Luther pointed out several passages in Calvin's works in which allusion was made to Luther and his followers in harsh terms Luther examined the passages, and said: "I hope Calvin will think better of me some day. We ought to bear with something from so excellent a man." Calvin related the facts, and added, "If we are not melted by so much gentleness we must be stones; as for me, I am melted."

John Calvin has been called, not without considerable justification, an exacting leader, stiffly jealous of antagonisms, harsh in his dictatorship, and impatient of any contradiction. But no one can read a letter he wrote to Bullinger, a Zwinglian, and fail to see a largeness of soul far above the ordinary. "I implore you never to forget how great a man Luther is. Think with what courage, what constancy, what power he has devoted himself to spreading the doctrine of salvation far and near. As for me, I have often said, and I say it again, though he should call me a devil, I would still give him due honor, and recognize him in spite of the great faults which obscure his extraordinary virtues as a mighty servant of the Lord."

The presence of Calvin at the Colloquies reveals a man of unyielding consistency, and opposed to the advocates of compromise. In this he rivaled Luther himself. Though he acted a subordinate part, due to his unfamiliarity with the German tongue, he commanded the utmost respect from all persons for his learning and intellectual penetration. He doubted the sincerity of Charles V, Emperor, and set himself against the pacific intent of the conferences, then rather disposed to favor an alliance between the German Princes and Francis I, the principal enemy of the Emperor. His correspondence with Marguerite of Valois, through his friend Sleidan, statesman and historian, is proof that his judgment was sought and his influence felt in questions that concerned the future of the Reformed Church. But he had as little faith in Francis I as in the Emperor. Writing to Farel, September, 1540, he says: "The King and the Emperor, while contending in cruel persecution of the godly, both endeavor to gain the favor of the Roman idol." No sign of the times escaped his keen eye. He visited the meeting at Frankfort to make the acquaintance of Melanchthon and to plead the cause of his fellow-countrymen suffering in the toils of bitter persecution. At the Colloquy of Worms, held November, 1540, he is seen in both public disputation and private solace of scholarship. For it was here that he defeated Robert Mosham, and won the title "The Theologian," and at the

same place wrote in poetic form the triumph of Christ over His enemies, such as Eck and Cochlaeus. Calvin was not a poet by nature, and never distinguished himself as a writer of verse, yet he says in the concluding lines of this poem:

"Quod natura negat, studii efficit ardor;" by study he made up for the lack of genius.

The Diet of Regensburg he attended very reluctantly, not being suited to such work, as he affirmed, and feeling it to be a waste of time to deal with the legates sent from Rome by the Pope. He held Dr. Eck in contempt, as "a babbler and an impudent sophist." Eck had a stroke of apoplexy, and on his recovery Calvin wrote: *"Nondum meretur mundus ista bestia liberari"*—the world had not yet earned its deliverance from that beast.

The use of such caustic and even brutal phrases by so cultured a leader as Calvin will make credible the stories of the most vicious invectives hurled at each other by passionate theologians in the sixteenth century. No one seems to have had a monopoly of defamatory epithets, for Catholic and Protestant alike indulged, sometimes to the full, the disposition to use vile words against an antagonist. The air of the century was electric with harsh invective. The famous Bull of Pope Leo X against Luther leads the list of damnatory papers. Nor was the reply of the stout Reformer at all reticent in this regard. Even so mild a man as Erasmus called Farel "a lying, virulent, seditious soul."

Henry VIII and Luther exchanged titles quite obnoxious to ears polite in a later day. The habit had not died out even in the next century, for the great English poet, Milton, defended the cause of the Protestants with tremendous vigor and freedom of expression. Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza, a man of the highest culture and refinement, in discussing the doctrine of the Eucharist with Eilman, the Lutheran who advocated the notion of "the real presence," calls him "an ass with a doctor's cap upon his head, a dog swimming in a bath, an asinine sophist, an impudent rogue, a sycophant, a polyphemus, a monster half monkey, half ogre, a carnivorous animal, a cyclops, a papist."

These sturdy epithets cause us to doubt if their judgments can be relied upon in our attempt to deal fairly with both parties in the great controversy. The bias of the writers certainly vitiates the sources of the period. When Luther led the way it is not surprising that his followers were unwilling to lag far behind; and yet none of them quite equaled him in his invidious epithets. He searches the pages of Terence, and when they fail him, he ransacks the peasants' vocabulary, and to him his opponents are lions, asses, bats, moles, goats, pigs. His range includes not only theological but zoölogical nomenclature for bitter words with which he punishes his foes.

Yet to his friends Calvin was the soul of tender devotion. During the period of the Colloquies his

correspondence, is full of evidences of intimate associations. Not the least of his gains was his friendship with Melanchthon. They had become acquainted in October, 1538, and it was through Melanchthon that Calvin knew Luther and sent salutations to him. The cause of the Reformation was a real gainer by this, for Luther had fallen out with the earlier Swiss Reformers, being "incurably poisoned" against Zwingli, and now that the conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics was deepening, it was fortunate that the old leader and the new had no occasion to revive slumbering hatreds or disagreements. Calvin was twelve years younger than Melanchthon, yet he was received by the German on equal terms. They were not unlike in some regards, in others far apart. Both were remarkably precocious as young students, and grew learned, polished and sensitive to all the appeals of the new learning. Both were modest, Calvin was shy and yet combative to a notable extent; Melanchthon, feminine and disposed to compromise, Calvin fearless, Melanchthon shrinking, but both heartily desirous of union in the ranks of the Protestants. Though they differed on some points of doctrine they showed that theologians could cultivate true amity and spiritual harmony. After the Colloquy they saw each other no more, but their correspondence reveals a noble type of intimacy. The lack of a swift post is noticed by Calvin in a let-

ter to Melanchthon: "You see to what a lazy fellow you have entrusted your letter. It was full four months before he delivered it to me, and then crushed and crumpled with much usage." He expresses a wish that they "could oftener converse together were it only by letters. To you it would be no advantage; but to me, nothing in this world could be more desirable than to take solace in the mind and gentle spirit of your correspondence."

In his reply Melanchthon confesses his inferiority as a writer, and yet suggests to Calvin that he bore down too hard upon the side of the Divine Sovereignty, and did not give fair play to the human will. As for himself he did not dare say that he had reached a solution of the abysses of predestination and free will, and adds: "Let us accuse our own will if we fall, and not find the cause in God." Nor could Calvin budge him from his milder view. There must have been something very fine in the esteem and affection which grew with the passing years, for as has been said, we have the only example of a Reformer republishing the work of another Reformer, a rival of his own work and differing from it in several points, in the act of Calvin when he issued and commended the "Theological Commonplaces" of Melanchthon.

A year after the death of Melanchthon, which occurred in 1560, Calvin thus addressed his sainted friend: "O Philip Melanchthon! for it is upon thee that I call, upon thee, who now livest with Christ

in God, and art waiting there for us, until we shall also be gathered with thee to that blessed rest! A hundred times, worn out with fatigue and overwhelmed with care, thou didst lay thy head upon my breast, and say: "Would God that I might die here, on thy breast. And I, a thousand times since then have earnestly desired that it had been granted us to be together. Certainly thou wouldst have been more valiant to face danger, and stronger to despise hatred, and bolder to disregard false accusations. Thus the wickedness of many would have been restrained, whose audacity of insult was increased by what they called thy weakness." In this one can see the real affection between the two men, and also the grand self-confidence which the iron-willed leader of Geneva put at the disposal of his less courageous friend.

It was during his stay at Strassburg that Calvin's power as a controversialist was put to the highest test, and with the fullest proof that he could debate without stooping to vilification. In his famous reply to Sadolet, he vindicated the Reformation in terms that left him alone of the band of Reformers at the top of fame, the most able, adroit, and convincing disputant of the century. His victory was over a remarkable man.

Jacopo Sadoleto, born 1477, died 1547, was secretary to Leo X, and spent his surplus cash for Greek manuscripts. His name is connected with one of the rarest "finds" of the age. One day in

1506, some workmen ran to inform Sadolet that they had found in the gardens of Titus a group from an unknown but admirable Greek chisel. He hastened to the spot and discovered that the group was what is known as "The Laocoön," easily recognized from Pliny's description. On account of the unearthing of the treasure Rome rang with jubilation, and in the evening the church bells pealed out the joy of the whole city. The day following the group was drawn in triumph to the Vatican. Sadolet was a veritable child of the Ranaissance. After serving as Secretary to Leo X, he became Bishop of Carpentras, in Dauphiny, then Secretary to Clement VII, and finally Cardinal, since 1536. He bore the reputation of a scholar, poet, devout gentleman, loyal Churchman. Beza does not do him justice in speaking of him as "a man of great eloquence, but he perverted it chiefly in suppressing the light of truth. He had been appointed cardinal for no other reason than that his moral respectability might serve to put a kind of gloss on false religion." Neither Protestant nor Catholic could then use the exact color to paint a motive or to interpret an action, when an enemy was involved in the picture. Both Sadolet and Calvin wrote in a style and with a power to do them both credit, save that Calvin's was the master mind.

The time of Calvin's exile from Geneva was a shining opportunity for the Catholics, and the dis-

possessed Bishop of Geneva saw his hour. He brought together several bishops, and as a result of their conference Sadolet was chosen to make an appeal to the Genevese. This he did in March, 1539. His eloquence was notably persuasive, and his spirit without rancor. Perhaps the only blot in his address was an uncharitable reflection upon the character and motives of the Reformers. After using various arguments, based upon the antiquity, the unity, the universality, and the inerrancy of the Church, and pleading with the citizens of Geneva to return to the fold, he closed as follows: "Whatever I can possibly do although it is very little, still if I have any talent, skill, authority, industry, I offer them to you and your interests, and will regard it as a great favor to myself should you be able to reap any fruit and advantage from my labor and assistance in things human and divine."

The Council received the letter with polite acknowledgments, but found no one in Geneva able to make fitting reply, in which fact the Romanists found cause for encouragement. A copy of the letter fell into the hands of Calvin, and in six days he wrote an answer, and sent it September 1st, to Sadolet. He had not been mentioned by name in the address of Sadolet, yet he felt himself indirectly assailed as the chief disturber of the peace of Geneva. The letter of Calvin has been called "perhaps the ablest vindication of the Reformation to

be found in the controversial literature of that time."[1] Step by step he discusses the points made by the Cardinal, and with consummate skill sets the cause of Protestantism fairly before the world. While paying tribute to the learning of the Cardinal, and refraining from insinuations as to his opponent's lack of good faith, and while expressing reluctance to oppose him, yet with frankness and dignity he crushes the Cardinal's position:

"If you had attacked me in my private character, I would easily have forgiven the attack, in consideration of your learning, and in honor of letters. But when I see that my ministry, which I feel assured is supported and sanctioned by a call from God, is wounded through my side, it would be perfidy, not patience, were I here to be silent and connive."

So he marches forward. Answering the charge that he had left the Church of Rome because of disappointment, he says:

"Had I wished to consult my own interest, I would never have left your party. . . . I have no fear that any one not possessed of shameless effrontery will object to me, that out of the kingdom of the pope I sought for any personal advantage which was not there ready to my hand."

The Cardinal's beautiful picture of an ideal Catholicism is spoiled by the Reformer in a description of the abuses and corruptions of the Church from which sprang the Reformation. Calvin paints

[1] Dr. P. Schaff.

with dark colors, confirmed, however, by the lives of such Popes as Alexander VI and by the charges of Savonarola, and the impartial witness of Machiavelli, the religion of Rome. As to the assertion of Sadolet that the only aim of the Reformers in casting off the heavy yoke of Rome was to get freedom for licentiousness, he compares conduct with conduct.

"We abound, indeed, in numerous faults; too often do we sin and fall. Still, though truth would, modesty will not permit me to boast how far we excel you in every respect, unless perchance you except Rome, that famous abode of sanctity, which having burst asunder the cords of pure discipline, and trodden all honor under foot, has so overflowed with all kinds of iniquity, that scarcely anything so abominable has ever been before."

The personal note is struck in Calvin's matchless reply to the citation of the Cardinal to the Reformers to appear as criminals before the judgment seat of God to answer for the guilt of the "great seditions and schisms;" in this he reaches a truly dramatic power of statement in an imaginary counter-confession on the part of the Reformers, in which while he no doubt lines up all the Reformers before the throne of God, yet the spokesman is Calvin himself, reciting his own struggles in leaving the Church. The only other place in which he so specifically refers to his own experience is in his introduction to the Commentary on the Psalms.

"They charged me with two of the worst of crimes—heresy and schism. And the heresy was, that I dared to

protest against dogmas which they had received. But what could I have done? I heard from Thy mouth that there was no other light of truth which could direct our souls into the way of life, than that which was kindled by Thy Word. I heard that whatever human minds of themselves conceive concerning Thy Majesty, the worship of Thy Deity, and the mysteries of Thy religion, was vanity. I heard that their introducing into the Church instead of Thy Word, doctrines sprung from the human brain, was sacrilegious presumption. . . . That I might perceive these things, Thou, O Lord, did'st shine upon me with the brightness of Thy Spirit; that I might comprehend how impious and noxious they were, Thou did'st bear before me the torch of Thy Word; that I might abominate them as they deserved, Thou didst stimulate my soul; . . ." (He tells how solemn expiations failed to bring peace). . . . "When, however, I had performed all these things, though I had some intervals of quiet, I was still far off from true peace of conscience; for, whenever I descended into myself, or raised my mind to Thee, extreme terror seized me—terror which no expiations or satisfactions could cure. And the more closely I examined myself, the sharper the stings with which my conscience was pricked, so that the only solace which remained to me, was to delude myself by obliviousness. Still as nothing better offered, I continued the course which I had begun, when lo! a very different form of doctrine started up, not one which led us away from the Christian profession, but one which brought it back to its fountain-head, and as it were, clearing away the dross, restored it to its original purity. . . . My mind being now prepared for serious attention, I at length perceived, as if light had broken in upon me, in what a sty of error I had wallowed, and how much pollution and impurity I had thereby contracted. Being exceedingly alarmed at the misery into which I had fallen, and much more at that which threatened me in

view of eternal death, I as in duty bound made it my first business to betake myself to Thy way, condemning my past life, not without groans and tears."

He closes the virile document with a direct appeal to the Cardinal:

"May the Lord grant, Sadolet, that you and all your party may at length perceive that the only true bond of Church unity is Christ the Lord, who has reconciled us to God the Father, and will gather us out of our present dispersion into the fellowship of His body, that so, through His one Word and Spirit, we may grow together into one heart and one soul."

The *Answer* was instantly welcomed in many quarters as an entire reply. The impression proved deep and lasting. It was put into several languages. The papal party at Geneva gave up all hope of restoring the Mass. When Luther read it he said to Cruciger: "This answer has hands and feet, and I rejoice that God has raised up men who will give the last blow to popery, and finish the war against anti-Christ which I began."

The prestige of Calvin attained a notable height as a result of this controversy, and the hope of his return to Geneva on the part of his friends there became increasingly marked. But the hour did not come immediately. Meanwhile he gave his attention to study, to instruction, and to organization in Strassburg. His career was one of incessant toil. Calvin was one of the world's workers. Few men have ever flung themselves into their work as this abstemious, self-denying, sickly scholar, consumed with a desire to establish his

system beyond a peradventure. The model after which the Reformed Churches in Geneva and France were formed was shaped by him during his residence in Strassburg. No item which could in any way have to do with the success of his great experiment was overlooked. He was preacher, teacher, builder, theologian and practical manager. His first sermon was delivered in the Church of St. Nicholas, though afterwards he preached in the church now known as the *Magdalen Kirche.* Twice a day on Sunday and four times during the week he appealed to the thought and conscience of his French congregation. He introduced his favorite discipline, and being left undisturbed by the magistracy he succeeded far better than he had done in Geneva. His correspondence was large. He was a busy pastor, was consulted by the magistrates on all important questions concerning religion, and gave himself to numberless persons who came to consult him upon private matters. He found time to compose his Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, and rewrote and enlarged his *Institutes.*

A worthy fruit of his pastorate was the Liturgy which he introduced in Strassburg and later in Geneva. Farel had used a form for worship, consisting of a general prayer, the Lord's Prayer (before the Sermon), the Decalogue, confession of sins, repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, a final exhortation and the benediction. Of

his liturgy only the form for marriage survived. All the rest was recast by Calvin, and thus used in his church. In 1542 it was published twice and taken up by the congregation at Lausanne and so gradually adopted by other Reformed Churches. His Liturgy revealed the dislike entertained by Calvin of all the cumbrous ceremonial of the Roman Church. He had no taste for the artistic and ornamental features of worship, indeed leaned towards the rather bare and sermon-loaded service of the Puritan age. He magnified the pulpit, free prayer, and congregational singing. Beyond this simple outline he did not encourage his followers to venture. Though he did not favor the use of the organ in public worship, he emphasized to the full the value of congregational singing, and made much use of the Psalms and of Clèment Marot's verse, and even making seven of his own compositions serve the cause of worship in the Church. His form for public service, substantially that of the French Reformed Churches to-day, was as follows: invocation, confession of sin, a brief absolution, reading of the Scriptures, singing, free prayer, chanting of the Psalms by the congregation, the sermon, the long general prayer, the Lord's Prayer, singing and benediction. Calvin prepared forms for baptism and the holy communion. As to the method of baptism Calvin regarded immersion as the primitive mode, but any other mode as equally valid.[1] The Sacrament was taken once a month,

[1] Inst. 4; XV; No. 19.

from which, however, all unworthy applicants were excluded.

Calvin did not become so utterly absorbed in the progress of the Church as not to realize that man should not live alone. He said in his comment on Ephesians v, 28-33: "It is a thing against nature that any one should not love his wife, for God has ordained marriage in order that two may be made one person." Yet he seems to have been in no haste to find a help-meet, nor did he marry until 1540. He rather boasted that he could not be charged with having assailed Rome, as the Greeks had Troy, for the sake of a woman. His friends, Farel and Bucer, often urged him to take a wife, that he might not be at the mercy of an ill-tempered housekeeper. His love-making was not that of a romancer, for in writing to Farel, May, 1539, he says: "I am none of those insane lovers, who when once smitten with the fine figure of a woman, embrace also her faults. This is the only beauty which allures me, if she be chaste, obliging, not fastidious, economical, patient, and careful for my health. Therefore, set out immediately." If this sounds cold-blooded, it must be remembered that the time was the sixteenth century, and the man half-Stoic. Farel evidently was unable to solve the problem, and the matter was dropped for awhile. The next move was to consider a certain lady of noble rank who had been recommended to him, her brother being a fervent admirer of Calvin, but this fell

through. Yet again he came near marrying a lady who was highly commended to him, and went so far as to invite Farel to the proposed wedding. But reports of her led him to drop the engagement. Finally he married a member of his congregation, Idelette de Bure, the widow of a prominent Anabaptist, who had been converted to the true faith under Calvin's teaching. Her gentle, modest, and yet firm character won the love of the Reformer, and they lived in happy wedlock for nine years. She proved to be a real help-meet, called by her husband "the excellent companion of my life." She had several children by her first husband, and one by Calvin, a son, who died in infancy, 1542. Of the death of this son Calvin wrote to a friend: "God has given me a little son, and taken him away; but I have myriads of children in the whole Christian world." The miserable slanders of such writers as Bolsec and Audin touching the home life of Calvin and his cold indifference to his losses of son, and later, of his wife, are utterly refuted by letters and expressions to his various friends. Calvin was not a man to carry his heart around on exhibition for the curious multitude to gaze at. He felt deeply, but seldom gave to the public his private joys and griefs.

Calvin's stay in Strassburg was of utmost moment to him; he had made friends, won a wife, tried successfully his programme in the church of which he was pastor, had learned the weakness of

the German system, and in all that counts for mastery of problems big with the world's destiny, was not less firm but more tactful, not less earnest but with a surer tread, wiser, broader, and in every way matured and capable of facing the main enterprise of his life.

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN TO GENEVA.

On leaving France for his journey which terminated in Geneva, in 1536, Calvin had said in pathetic phrase: "I am driven from the land of my birth. Every step towards its boundaries costs me tears. Perhaps it is not permitted to Truth to dwell in France; let her lot be mine." He had since then followed Truth at some hazard, and was still some distance from the goal. In 1538 he had taken up his march, burning with ill-suppressed indignation over his treatment by the people of Geneva. Weaker men had stepped into his shoes. Worse men were at the helm of Genevan affairs. Reactions came and went with little prospects of good for the city, and even dissensions between Calvin's brethren in the city augured ill for the cause so dear to the exile. The advantage taken of this condition on the part of the Catholics reached its height in the incident of Sadolet's appeal and the reply of Calvin, after which the bishops could have little expectations of recovering lost ground in Geneva. But other conditions made it imperative that the Reformation should not lose out

in the city. In the summer of 1540 Bern and Geneva were about to jump at each other's throats. The turbulent elements in the city called for effective efforts at control. As the autumn drew on the party that had supported Calvin got the government in their hands, but the populace can hardly be said to have wished him back.

The time was critical, both for Geneva and the larger Protestant world. During the years of Calvin's exile Loyola founded the Order of the Jesuits; then occurred the reaction under Henry VIII in England, when the Six Articles were issued by Parliament defining heresy, and compelling belief in transubstantiation, communion in one kind for laymen, celibacy of the clergy, inviolability of vows of chastity, necessity of private masses, and of auricular confession. Charles V was in temporary alliance with Francis I, in whose realm the political rights of the parliaments were being restricted, and the religious freedom of the Protestants was denied; Spain and France were entering the New World—De Soto in 1539 ranging the Mississippi Valley, Cartier in 1540 taking the St. Lawrence for his king, Pizarro in 1541 the Amazon, through his subordinate, Orellano;—the Lutherans and Zwinglians were unable to get together; and quite as significant, while the various Colloquies held on German soil between Catholic and Protestants until 1541 threw the Protestants back on themselves and widened the gap between themselves

and their enemies, yet disunion with Catholicism did not mean union among Protestants. Further, while a lamentable apathy was settling down upon the Reformers and they were confining their energies to a defensive opposition, the old Church began to stir with a new missionary zeal, for reform at home and expansion abroad.

The tiny republic had rushed to the brink of ruin during Calvin's absence. As his keen eye had foreseen, demoralization began to dog the steps of his enemies. In the place of the expelled preachers, two native and two Bernese preachers were elected, but they were below mediocrity. The three parties, those opposed to the Reformers and Catholics alike, extreme liberals, those working for the restoration of Catholicism, and those friendly to the Reformers involved the affairs of the city in confusion. The claim of right of Bern to act as protector if not dictator of Geneva was highly unpopular. The first party gradually declined, as they proved unable to check the tide of immorality and disorder; the second party had no commanding influence after the crushing letter of Calvin in reply to that of Sadolet; the third party kept on insisting upon the old franchises of Geneva as against the Bernese claims, and gained influence as the Catholics lost ground.

In the early months of 1540, a general assembly of citizens resolved to restore the former status. The recall of Calvin was decided upon in the Coun-

cil, September 21, 1540. Meanwhile, private efforts had been made to obtain his consent to return to Geneva; but in his reply to Farel he said: "There is no place in the world which I fear more; not because I hate it, but because I feel unequal to the difficulties which await me there." He requested Farel and Viret to desist from their efforts to draw him back to the city; however, he added: "When I remember that in this matter I am not my own master, I present my heart as a sacrifice and I offer it up to the Lord." He herein consciously or unwittingly refers to his seal; it bears the motto to which he gave expression in his letter, and the emblem is a hand presenting a heart to God. Petitions and even deputations were forwarded to Strassburg to complete his surrender to the duty thus urged upon him. The *Registres* of Geneva contain numerous records during the month of October touching the recall of "the learned and pious Mr. Calvin."

The Syndics and Council wrote him an appeal, which it is worth while to lay upon the page in full:

"Sir, our good brother, and excellent friend, in recommending ourselves to you very affectionately, inasmuch as we are perfectly assured that your desire is only for the increase and advancement of the glory and honor of God and of His holy word, on the part of our small, our great, and our general councils (which all have urgently urged us to do this), we pray you very affectionately to be pleased to come to us, and return to your former part and ministry; and we hope, with the assistance of God,

that this will be cause of great good and fruit for the augmentation of the holy Gospel. Our people are very desirous to have you. And we will so arrange matters with you that you shall have occasion to be satisfied.

Your good friends,

THE SYNDICS AND COUNCIL OF GENEVA."

Geneva, 22nd, Oct. 1540.

The incidents of Calvin's recall and return to Geneva show us a man of noble purposes, anxious to do his highest duty, fearful of mistake, seeking advice from many friends, delaying his acceptance of the invitation until it could no longer be put off, and then securing the best results of the acceptance by conditions presented to him and allowed by the authorities, as worthy of the man whom they had exiled and now discovered they could not live without. The letters of this period as given by Bonnet reveal the man, timid, brave, just to himself and to his friends, loving Geneva, ambitious for God, not lacking on the other hand the confidence in himself without which no man can serve his day to the full.

Strassburg protested against his departure, saying he could not be spared. The leaders of public opinion in Germany and Switzerland expressed their mind that the fate of Geneva was wrapped up in that of evangelical religion, and with this city went Italy and France, and that Calvin was the man to whom they might well look for the direction of their destiny. As of old, Farel thundered away: "Will you wait till the stones call thee?"

Unable to resist the call of God, as he had now come to regard it, Calvin left Strassburg in the summer of 1541, and went forward to Geneva escorted by a mounted herald. The city was on the lookout for him. There was talk of a great reception, but his distaste for a noisy welcome prevented any demonstration of an unusual sort. Yet there was general rejoicing when on September 13th he reached Geneva. Three days later he wrote to his old friend, Farel: "Thy wish is granted, I am held fast here. May God give His blessing!" The house and garden which was provided for him had belonged to a canon of the Cathedral, and was bought by the authorities of Geneva in 1543. It was only a few steps from the Church of St. Peter, and stood on the site of the present Number 11 Rue de Calvin. The original house has been removed, the site being built upon anew in the eighteenth century. For a short while Calvin lived in the house adjoining until the one purchased by the Council was fitted for his permanent home, and there he remained until his death. The furnishing was very simple, the salary was set at five hundred florins, and as he was expected to entertain prominent visitors, he was voted an allowance of wheat and wine. The salary has been variously computed, as to its present purchasing power, from fifty to fifteen hundred dollars, but by the latest French author of the life of Calvin, as not exceeding one thousand dollars.[1]

[1] See full note in Walker's comment on Doumergue's estimate, p. 264.

On the very day of his arrival Calvin appeared by agreement before the Syndics and the Council in the Town Hall, and asked for the appointment of a commission of six to draw up a plan for Church government and discipline. This was done, and the task immediately taken up of directing the religious and moral, and as it soon followed, the social, life of Geneva. Calvin was conciliatory, but there was no delay in the prosecution of his scheme. The constitution, or *Ordinances,* as they were styled, went up to the Little Council, September 26th, to the Large Council November 9th, and to the general assembly of the citizens November 20, 1541.

That the authorities did not intend to take Calvin as a ruler, only as an adviser, is apparent in the refusal of the Little Council to submit to the ministers the changed draft before it went to the Two Hundred. Nevertheless the Ecclesiastical Constitution of 1541 is in marked advance beyond the Articles of 1537; "not indeed quite perfect, but passable considering the difficulty of the times," remarked Calvin. The Church got self-control, but none over political matters. The Church secured an effective discipline over its members in matters pertaining to doctrine and life, thus putting the Church of Geneva far ahead of any other Protestant body of the day.

Calvin's theory of the Church, and of the State, and of the relation between the two was well defined before his arrival; his mind was too mature,

and his experience too thorough, to leave any doubt in the matter. His mind was rarely architectonic in character. The idea of a Divine Commonwealth, a "Civitas Dei," was ever before him, swaying his thought and commanding his will. In contrasting Luther with Calvin, Dr. Fairbairn says: "Luther's aim was to teach a true soteriology, Calvin's to build a system and a State in the image of the truth of God." The distinction between the "visible" and the "invisible" Church was one introduced by the Reformers. By this they meant two classes of Christians within the same objective communion. The invisible Church is in the visible, as kernel in the shell, and God alone knows who belong to the invisible Church and are to be saved. Luther had first applied the term "invisible" to the true Church at the disputation of Leipzig. Yet the Reformed system of doctrine was compelled to admit that there is possibility of salvation beyond the boundaries of the visible Church. Perhaps none was so liberal as Zwingli in his inclusion of all the pious heathen in the invisible Church. While Calvin did not go so far as Zwingli in his doctrine of election, yet logically the extension may be allowed. For salvation depends upon the sovereign grace of God, and not upon any objective or formal means of grace. He says in one place: "According to the secret predestination of God, there are many sheep without the pale of the Church, and many wolves within it."

Before taking up in detail the administrative measures of the *Ordinances,* it will be well to push inquiry still further into the significance of Calvin's purpose to recover for the Church whatever of authority it had lost in the troublous days of his absence from Geneva. In his aim he drew somewhat near to that of the Roman Church in its emphasis upon autonomy, its right of self-government. But he made a distinction; for while the Catholic used the word "autonomy" in a hierarchical sense, Calvin placed the power in the hands of the Christian congregation. And while he did not succeed in his day in making the clergy independent of State patronage, he taught that self-government implied and required self-support. The Lutherans allowed the heavy hand of the secular princes to indulge an arbitrary policy, giving the congregations of most Lutheran countries of Europe no voice in the election of their pastors. German Switzerland recognized the supreme power of the civil government. In theory, the Churches established by Calvin claimed independence for the Church in all spiritual matters. The sovereignty of the Church was inherent in its membership. His argument springs from the old rule: "Let him who is to rule over all, be chosen by all." Scotland, and then America saw the full fruition of this planting. He contended that the bishops and the presbyters were originally identical, yet did not refuse to accept the supervision of bishops, as in England, provided the Gos-

pel were truly preached. More important than the above was Calvin's demand that the laity should share in Church government and discipline. Rome refused to laymen rights in ecclesiastical legislation; Calvin taught the priesthood of all believers, and gave them regular duties in the local congregations, the Synod and the Council of the Churches.

In approaching Calvin's theory of the relation of the Church to the State we find difficulty. He has been styled a theocrat. He did indeed aim at the sole rule of Christ in Church and State, but free from any entanglement between the two. Calvin endeavored to distinguish what was in his day greatly confused, the difference between the spiritual and the secular powers. Each was to be independent and sovereign in its own sphere. He himself never held a civil office, nor did he allow the ministers to be eligible to the magistracy. The internal affairs of the Church were to be free from the interference of the civil authorities. Yet he failed to separate the two provinces; rather he dared to unite them as far as their unlike functions would permit. In practice in Geneva the two were more nearly interdependent than in theory, and the Reformed Church of Geneva was an established or State Church, the preachers and the magistrates often intermeddling with each other. "Discipline was a common territory for both." It was a long distance to the time when the great Italian, Cavour, cried out, "A free Church in a free State."

The reference to Italy, so many ages hampered by the anomaly of the double rule of the Pope, at once prince and priest, suggests the value of a swift review of the effort of the papacy to bring the world to its way of thought and life.

Both the true and the false rise to our vision. There was first the scheme and the failure of the Imperial Church under Constantine and Theodosius. The world was not ready for the experiment, and the trial could be only partial. The problem in its entirety was not grasped by its proposers. Then came the aim and the failure of the Mediæval Church; the "fatal dualism," that of the claim to both spiritual and secular power balked its most desperate zeal. The meaning of the "kingdom of God" escaped the conception of the clerical orders, and the "Mediæval System, long hollowed out and destitute of spiritual force, was blown to pieces by the Reformation."

Nevertheless, there remained the idea of unity and of some form of an organized social system inspired by Christian truth. But the difference between the formal and the essential unity grew plainer with each passing decade of struggle after the ideal. The Mediæval Church had insisted upon unity to the hurt of the individual, whereas the New Testament had taught that the Spirit was to work first in the person, and then through him in the community. The free Churches, not the tyrant Church, were in its long and glorious perspective.

The unity of Christendom must recognize the free development of all its parts working with unimpaired liberty for the total good. Thus the task of the Reformation was to light all the branches of the mysterious candlestick of the Apocalypse. But this did not mean that the work of the Reformation was mainly destructive of previous and real gains, nor tending to the disintegration of any vital forces, or institution worthy of longer life. Protestantism is primarily a builder, not a destroyer. And if in its earlier days it assumed the form and exhibited the might of a deformer, and not of a reformer, this was only incidental. Its eye was ever fixed upon a sounder fabric, grounded upon the free consent of men. The history of its spread has answered to the full Comte's habitual scorn of Protestantism, on the ground of its "purely negative doctrine," and "the anarchical character of its principles." For when we sum it all up, we find the Reformation due to a positive religious conviction; it began an era of popular enlightenment; it lifted up the laity; it awoke the national spirit in Europe. On the Rhine it was Luther appealing to Germany to assert itself against the Pope on the Tiber; on the Thames it was Latimer and Ridley defying the threats and fagots of the fanatic queen inspired by the Italian cardinal; the Dutch around the Zuyder Zee shaking off the tyranny of the Spaniard; in France the exiled Huguenots becoming aliens to their native land rather than traitors to God.

In no other way could the "fiction of the Empire and the yoke of the Pope" have been cast aside. The Reformers were not rough iconoclasts of a wholesome social order or of a pure and tender ecclesiastical discipline. They were not unpractical nor idle dreamers, but those who lived and died to make their dreams come true. Their liberty has been that of a popular constitution; witness England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, and America.

The trend of thought to John Calvin is evident, and its realization prior to his day in at least one illustrious instance is easily recalled. Calvin did not originate the notion, the achievement, of a Christian city. Every reader of "Romola" who brings any degree of sympathy to the study of the close of the fifteenth century in Florence must have some insight into the ideals and the source of power of the mighty Reformer-Preacher of San Marco. Savonarola forever charms and does not tire those who still cherish the hope of influencing public life by Christian motives. In an age which recognized Roderick Borgia as the vicar of St. Peter, the eloquent monk, sustained by a noble philosophy, and at the same time a fervent follower of Christ, came to Florence by invitation of Lorenzo de Medici, and for awhile seemed to cast over his vast talents a benignant spell. But under the splendid, cruel rule of Lozenzo virtue, political and moral, was

moribund. To some the alternative lay between ruthless despotism and a licentious democracy. But the stout-hearted, clear-brained prophet refused to cherish any other vision than that of Florence as a true city of God, and after the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of his weak son, Piero, Savonarola became the dictator of Florence (1494-1497). For four years he governed the city justly, and gained good terms from the King of France. But the Pope was set on his overthrow; the Medicean party yearned for the "good old days," and his course was soon run, as he had prophesied. The election of a hostile Singoria was followed by the papal excommunication and condemnation to the cord and the flame, and in the strangle and the ashes ended Savonarola's attempt to create a Christian city on the banks of the Arno.

From the monk of San Marco to the preacher of St. Pierre is less than forty years. On the other side of the Alps and under auspicious skies Calvin laid the foundation of the public life of Geneva in religion. He drew up a Confession which every one was required to sign. Church and State were not identical, but they were not separated. In his "Confessions" Rousseau tells us that when he went to Geneva in 1754 it was necessary for him to sign the Confession of Faith before he could become a citizen of the city.

If it is inquired how, in the one case four short years, and in the other nearly three centuries, swept

by, marking now the brief and now the unspent power of the two reformers, the answer may easily be found. Antitheses do not always separate the grain from the chaff, but there is much truth in the old statement that Catholicism is a religion of priests, Lutheranism of theologians, Calvinism of the believing congregation. In his emphasis of the solidarity of the Church Calvin made Geneva a fair rival of Rome, and in his effort to reform the morals of the city he wrought out a discipline as rigorous for the glory of Geneva as any that Rome had ever, in repressing heresy, fostered to her shame. Yet Calvin's calm disclaimer of any purpose to merge the State and the Church into one as an executioner of law-breakers, is set forth in his statement that the Church knows no penalty for wrong doing save exclusion from the Lord's Supper. "For the Church hath not the power of the sword to punish or restrain, no empire to command, no prison, no other pains which the magistrate is wont to lay upon men."[1] But what if, is the immediate inquiry, the State has become so interpenetrated with the passion of the Church for reform that the lines of cleavage can not be discerned, and the temptation is inevitable to make out of offenses against the Church crimes against the civil order? Plainly we shall have a reign of terror, peculiar but explicable, and in hideous yet tremendously effective. When the adulterer was put to

[1] Inst. 4, 11, 3.

death, and the unchaste were banished or drowned, Geneva was in such case as a hundred other cities of Europe, Catholic and Protestant, but when to laugh at a sermon of Calvin was made a crime, the honest human heart cries out against the holiness which is secured at the expense of freedom and the virtue which is stamped with the tyranny of a moral police.

It is evident that the principles of Church government advocated by Calvin led to persecution. He was not different from his age, save that he calmly and without retreat or hiding accepted all the consequences of his theory. In a theocratic State heresy is as obnoxious to orthodoxy as an ordinary crime is to the civil law. In a letter to Somerset, the Protestant Protector of England, Calvin elaborates, October 22, 1548, his theory of the necessity of applying force against heresy.

"From what I understand, my Lord, you have two kinds of rebels who have risen up against the King and the State of the realm. The one are fantastic people, who under colour of the gospel would cast all into confusion; the other, obstinate adherents to the superstitions of the Roman Anti-christ. Both alike well deserve to be repressed by the sword which is committed to you, seeing that they attack not the King only, but God who has seated him upon the throne, and has entrusted to you the protection as well of his person as of his majesty."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW DISCIPLINE.

JOHN CALVIN was lawyer as well as preacher. His legal training stood him in good stead in the organization of the system of doctrine, polity, and discipline for Geneva. His stress laid upon the inner life, intellectual and spiritual, saved him from being a tyrant after the order of Hildebrand. As it was, he did not escape caricature, censure, scorn. But he succeeded in imposing his will upon a people who in the end greatly profited by his coming, in morals, good order, intelligence, influence among neighbors, and renown. How did he do it?

In the application of the general principles noted in the preceding chapter, Calvin insisted upon making them the fundamental law of the city. The result is seen in the "Ecclesiastical Ordinances," which were solemnly ratified January 2, 1542, as the Church law of Geneva. In themselves they are an interesting milestone of progress, and in addition they are of vast concern as having passed into the life of most of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of the Old and the New World. The official text begins with the following words:

"In the name of God Almighty, we the Syndics, Small and Great Councils with our people assembled at the sound of the trumpet and the great clock, according to our ancient customs, have considered that the matter above all others worthy of recommendation is to preserve the doctrine of the holy gospel of our Lord in its purity, to protect the Christian Church, to instruct faithfully the youth, and to provide a hospital for the proper support of the poor,—all of which can not be done without a definite order and rule of life, from which every estate may learn the duty of its office. For this reason we have deemed it wise to reduce the spiritual government, such as our Lord has shown us and instituted by His Word, to a good form to be introduced and observed among us. Therefore we have ordered and established to follow and to guard in our city and territory the following ecclesiastical polity, taken from the gospel of Jesus Christ."

Calvin's effort was to bring to the front two mutually corrective powers—the clergy and the laity. Nowhere else in all history have the clergy been so prominent and influential as in the Church of Geneva. The distinction made by Calvin between the *extraordinary* officers of the Church and the *ordinary* is worth remembering, for the reason that the former can not be regulated by law, and no directions are to be found in the Ordinances for them. The distinction, however, is made in the Institutes, and under the first head are found Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists; and under the second head are Pastors, Teachers, Ancients, and Deacons. Pastors are Bishops and Ancients are Lay-Elders. In his elaboration of the duties of

these various classes Calvin exhibited the analytic skill of a lawyer in the days of Justinian, and gave to his "code" a permanent character which stood firm in the court of Scotland and the frontiers of America with equal ease and force. It would be tedious to recite the many specifications of service which filled the minds of Calvin's friends with profound concern, and the hearts of his foes with profounder disgust, but one must know somewhat of the working plan of the "Ordinances" in order to appreciate the mind and will of Calvin and their effect upon Geneva.

The "Pastors" are to "preach the Word of God, to instruct, to admonish, to exhort, and reprove in public and private, to administer the Sacraments, and jointly with the 'elders' to exercise discipline." Pastors are such only after being called, examined, ordained, or installed. Weekly conferences are to be held for mutual aid. Strict discipline is to be exercised over the ministers, and a dozen or more vices and sins are named which can not be tolerated among them. The pastors are to preach twice on Sunday and to catechise the children, and to preach three times during the week. Teachers are to instruct believers in sound doctrine. They are distinguished from pastors, in that they have no official concern with discipline, nor can they administer the sacraments. The highest type of teacher was the theological professor. The "Ancients" or lay elders, were an important feature of

the "Ordinances," perhaps the most original contribution thereto.

It is this name and office that have given to the Presbyterian Church its name and type of polity. Yet it may be doubted if some of the modern elders would recognize themselves in the following statement of duties:

> "The office of the elders is to watch over the conduct of every individual, to admonish lovingly those whom they see doing wrong or leading an irregular life. When there is need, they should lay the matter before the body deputed to inflict paternal discipline (i. e., the Consistory), of which they are members. As the Church is organized, it is best that the elders be chosen, two from the small council, four from the council of sixty, and six from the council of two hundred (referring to the bodies constituting the city government): they should be men of good life and honest, without reproach and beyond suspicion, above all God-fearing and endowed with spiritual prudence. And they should be so chosen that they be distributed in each quarter of the city, so that they can have an eye on everything."

The "deacons" are to have care of the poor and sick, and to attend to the hospitals. Begging is to be prevented by their oversight. The "Ordinances" give directions touching baptism, which is to be performed in the Church, touching the Lord's Supper, to be administered once a month in one of the Churches, and at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, and contain regulations about marriages, burials, and other concerns of a Christian community. The

Ministers and Ancients are to meet once a week, on Thursday, to consider the state of the Church and to administer discipline.

The executive bodies of the Church are two. First, there is the Venerable Company, containing all the pastors of the Republic of Geneva, a purely clerical body, and lacking political authority. It was entrusted with the supervision of all matters that concerned the Church alone, especially the education, election, and installation of ministers. Yet even in this it depended upon the civil authority and the congregation for final sanction of its acts. In the second place is the Consistory, or Presbytery, composed of clergymen and laymen, a far more influential body than the Venerable Company. In it State and Church are united. The head of this body is the Syndic. The laymen are in the majority and elected annually, the ministers being a more fixed element though a minority. The real ruler of this body was Calvin, presiding only a few times as an informal chairman, yet as has been said while he was not president, he was the soul of the Consistory.

The two principles to which, to quote Guizot,[1] Calvin attached the highest importance, "I might almost call them his two supreme passions," were first, the distinction between religious and civil society; i. e., between two societies, each independent in its own domain, but giving each other mutual

[1] St. Louis and Calvin, p. 259.

support; second, the discipline of all members of Church who were subject to ecclesiastical power, and in extreme cases handed to the civil power. The constitution formed for the Christian Church of Geneva was, "to a certain extent, both liberal and cautious, and like the civil constitution of the Christian Genevan State, it was republican." The Consistory has been called a Star Chamber. But it was limited to the use of the spiritual sword. Civil punishments fell to the Council. To the ministers of Zurich Calvin wrote, November 26, 1553: "The Consistory has no civil jurisdiction, but only the right to reprove according to the will of God, and its severest punishment is excommunication." Yet it was not till after the victory over the Libertines in 1555 that the Council conceded to the Consistory its claim of right of excommunication. This throws light upon the long struggle of Calvin to gain for the Church its highest rights of self-government.

Summarily, the gains made by Calvin for the Church were notable; authority for her ministers; their ordination by ministers; lay representation, by elders; excommunication of persistent offenders; and in the last resort, by a spiritual court alone, the Consistory. As the society of Geneva included all baptized persons, thus giving to the Church oversight in matters concerning errors in doctrine and sins against the peace of the society, it was the theory of Calvin that State and Church should

be mutually helpful, both in correcting and chastising offenders. It was not without a severe struggle with the Little Council that Calvin won his victory for the rights of the Consistory. In a classic paragraph he drew the line between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities:

> "That all this (i. e., discipline) shall be done in such fashion that the ministers shall have no civil jurisdiction and shall use none but the spiritual sword of the Word of God as Saint Paul directs them; and that the authority of the government and of ordinary justice shall in no way be diminished by the Consistory, but that civil authority shall remain unimpaired. And in particular, where it shall be necessary to make some punishment or constrain the parties, the ministers with the Consistory, having heard the parties and made remonstrances and admonitions as shall be fitting, shall report all to the Council, which shall deliberate on their report and order and render judgment according to the merits of the case."

In the administration of discipline there was a most vigorous impartiality, no sex, rank, person being considered. The eyes of the elders were everywhere. Every unseemly act was reported. The following incidents, taken from the records of the Registers, will present both the humor and the horror of life under the new regime. Several women, among them the wife of the Captain-General, were sent to jail, for dancing; Bonivard, the hero of the dungeon of Chillon, and the friend of Calvin, was summoned before the Council for playing at dice with the poet, Clèment Marot, for a

quart of wine; three men who had laughed during the sermon were imprisoned for three days; three children, for staying outside the church to eat cakes, were punished; a boy was whipped for calling his mother a "she-devil;" a girl was beheaded for striking her parents. Cruel penalties these; but the Middle Ages had not yet withdrawn their black shadows from the city of Geneva, nor yet did the enlightenment of the Reformation lift the gloom from Europe for more than two centuries after the death of Calvin. Witchcraft, blasphemy and heresy were as bad as lying, fornication, and murder, for generations after the days of the great reformer.

There were in the years 1558 and 1559 four hundred and fourteen cases recorded upon the pages of the Register of the Consistory. It may seem very ridiculous to many, and simply the reason for buffoonery to others, yet again to others a hateful fact of civilization, but to the student of history, it will be just as well to take them as representing what one has called a "disclosure, in undress, of human character and actions which the lofty philosophic generalities of history have too much the power to control or disguise." We must deal with them as a fact. Then again, if we are inclined to find the masculine character and grand aims of Calvin "frittered" by attention to such minutiae, we should remember that only in their applications may we hope to discover the meaning

of principles. Whenever a refined intellectualism withdraws itself into the recesses of art and letters, and cultivates a fastidious sense in its contact with real life, its "hall mark" of exclusiveness will be found to be a mere brand of inability to do the world's work. For, as it was in the movement from the Renaissance to the Reformation, when Erasmus complained of the damage Luther was doing to letters, and men of the Renaissance turned with disgust from men of the Reformation, the same old story is repeated, and criticism wastes itself away in its whining challenge to the genius of construction which is out in the world intensely concerned with human affairs, and in the main, for their good.

That Calvin's system proved a serious check to personal liberty goes without saying, and that it provoked bitter opposition we know well enough. But it changed the face of life in Geneva. If the people woke, and ate, and toiled, and went to bed, under a sort of cut-and-dried ethics, they yet illustrated what could come of obedience to a noble ideal of life, strenuous, intellectual, and pure, though imposed by a masterful will, and not always welcomed by the populace. A French refugee one day exclaimed to a peasant: "How delightful it is to see this lovely liberty in your city!" The peasant replied: "Lovely liberty! we were once obliged to go to mass; now we are obliged to go to sermon." However, the people grew in intelligence by the use of the Catechisms, and the priv-

ileges of the schools. Good order and social purity followed in the wake of Calvin's severe discipline. People submitted who would otherwise have thrown off the yoke, had there been a less virile will in the chief pastor or a less deliberate purpose in the Council to make a model city of Geneva. If Liberty suffered somewhat, Good Order was enthroned.

It took ten years of constant and vigilant police oversight combined with moral and spiritual education to secure to Calvin his triumph over the intrigues of parties and the hatred of base born men. From 1545 to 1555 he felt the utmost venom of their opposition. At one time he almost despaired and, December 14, 1547, wrote to Farel: "Affairs are in such a state of confusion that I despair of being able longer to retain the Church, at least by my own endeavors." His opponents were of the same crowd who drove him away in 1538, and though they afterwards submitted, and in the case of one or two, even joined in the invitation for his return, yet under the fretting of his harsh discipline they began serious and offensive resistance. They nicknamed him "Cain," and named dogs after him; they threatened him in the pulpit, and fired guns off under his windows; even trying on one occasion to wrest from his hands the sacred elements at the Eucharist. Only an extraordinary man could have resisted the pressure.

The first victim of the new discipline was Jacques Gruet who suffered death for sedition and blasphemy. Calvin's account of him as a "scurvy fellow" is justified by the facts. He would have been obnoxious in any other decent community. A libel which he had attached to Calvin's pulpit in St. Peter's Church led to his arrest by order of the Council. He was condemned for moral, religious, and political offenses, and after having been inhumanly tortured every day for a month, was beheaded on the 26th of July, 1547. The fashion of the times in dealing with criminals was fiercely harsh. The next to suffer from the iron discipline was Ami Perrin, a popular leader of the patriotic party. He had been influential in recalling Calvin, and for a time had supported the reform movement, but what with his vanity, pretense, and theatric airs he well earned the title that fell with biting energy from Calvin's pen:— "stage-emperor" who played now *"Caesar comicus,"* and then *"Caesar tragicus."* His wife, Francesca, was according to Calvin's word a "prodigious fury." She excelled in revelry and the swing of an abusive tongue. As the maxim advises against quarreling with a woman, it would be better for the fame of Calvin's wisdom if he had not measured tongues with one who is admitted by Audin to have been "excitable, choleric, fond of pleasure, and enamoured of dancing." She, her husband, and her father Favre, were put in prison

for a few weeks. The father refused to apologize, the husband confessed his wrong, but it is not ascertained that the "fury" became penitent. Calvin told the family that as long as they stayed in Geneva they must obey the laws though every one of them wore a diadem.

Thenceforward Perrin led in the opposition to Calvin. On his return from Paris whither he had gone as ambassador, he was indicted for treason, having told the French government that French troops could be stationed at Geneva to hold off Germany, and was expelled from the Council. The Libertines [1] were furious and a clash occurred in the Senate House, in the midst of which Calvin entered, unarmed, and, at the risk of his life, calmed the tumult. Even his chief detractor, Audin, in his dramatic account of the mob, of the "fixed" eye of Calvin, and of his amazing eloquence, says: "The Libertines who had shown themselves so bold when it was a question of destroying some front of a Catholic edifice, overturning some saint's niche, or throwing down an old wooden cross weakened by age, trembled like women before this man, who in fact, on this occasion exhibited something of the Homeric heroism." [2]

For awhile Geneva rested under a truce between the contending parties. Indeed Calvin was put on the defensive. The Council censured him

[1] The name "Libertine" was a nickname for the party opposed to Calvin, yet it was not contemporary with him.

[2] Calvin, Audin, p. 394.

for saying in a letter to Viret that the Genevese "under pretense of Christ wanted to rule without Christ," and that he had to fight their "hypocrisy." The quiet behavior of Perrin gave him an advantage and he was elected first Syndic, which position he held during the trial of Servetus, voting against the death sentence. After 1553 the friends of Calvin gained the supremacy of the Council, and there would have been little more trouble save that Perrin and some of his intimates were charged with laying a diabolical plot to murder all foreigners on a Sunday during Church services. There is no likelihood that such a plot could have been proved, yet the attending circumstances, a street riot, enabled the Council to bring Perrin to trial and to convict him of guilt in the case. Fortunately for him, he fled Geneva in time, and though condemned to death and his estates confiscated he escaped the deadly wrath of the Council.

Pierre Ameaux was a member of the Two Hundred; "a man of the bar-room with a wicked tongue and a soul destitute of energy." His abuse of Calvin at a drinking bout occasioned his arrest, and his trial resulted in his conviction, the penalty being that he should walk the streets in his shirt, carry a lighted torch in his hands, and sue for pardon.

The case which brought Calvin face to face with the Council and seriously imperiled his cause was that of Berthelier, the debauchee son of a

worthy patriot. He was secretary of the Council, and yet was excommunicated by the Consistory for his offenses. At first the Council accepted the decision of the Consistory, but later supported Berthelier. Calvin was thus forced to submit to the Council, or to run the risk of a second expulsion, or to bring the Council to his way of thinking. On the Sunday following the absolution of Berthelier by the Council, he declared at the close of the sermon, when about to administer the Sacrament: "I will lay down my life ere these hands shall reach forth the sacred things of God to those who have been branded as His despisers." Perrin, who had some respect for the character of the hour and the man, or, it may be for the reason that he feared an outbreak, advised Berthelier to absent himself from the Eucharist. The magnificent courage of Calvin carried the day, and the storm blew to its end in the plot above mentioned in which Berthelier and Perrin fled to avoid execution. And Libertinism was dead in Geneva.

Thenceforward Geneva went forward along the lines of Calvin's doctrine and discipline, becoming more intelligent and moral and law-abiding, clean, prosperous, and famous.

The "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" of the Church of Geneva deserve our sympathetic attention, for we have before us not the code of a single town of small consequence on the confines of Switzerland, but the "one form of Church polity which best

expresses the spirit of the Reformation." There was a directness in the aim of the Reformers throughout Europe that found a congenial soul in the Genevan code. The discipline of Geneva followed hard upon every assertion of individual liberty. Scotland got its reformation, Holland its emancipation, England the brief but brilliant reign of Calvin's faith and discipline, and France its sixty years of Huguenot struggle against the royal authority, direct from the source in Geneva. The contrast between the three Frenchmen, contemporaries at Paris before 1535, puts the case in a nutshell; Rabelais wasted individualism, Loyola crushed individualism, Calvin educated individualism. Calvinism was very sombre, even forbidding at times, yet it did not seek its pleasures in the license of the tavern, or the chamber of inquisition, but in the school room, the home, the church. It made itself very ridiculous according to our modern way of seeing things, by insisting upon observance of trifles, by exiling innocent fun, by suppressing the humorist, and by jailing the clown. What then? It had a huge task set by the times, and the joker was not the man to lead Protestantism against the terribly repressive energy of the Jesuit, of Spain, of the Inquisition. The odds were all against Geneva in the impending conflict. Calvinism was tending to gather to itself all the moral worth to be found anywhere in the scattered bits Protestantism. Its self-denial and sincerity, its

clear-cut statement of problems and their solution, its vision and its passion, all got recognition and begot victory. The tiny band was not in all regards polished, or gracious. Its members used bold speech to princes and were afraid only of God. They were understood. They hurt feelings, but they conquered. They may not have been omniscient, but they were invincible.

In dealing with his little world whose life was to spread to Holland, to England, to America, Calvin did not try to imitate Plato with his "paper-republic," but with tremendous practical effort, by some mistakes, and by much that was masterful, his desires were achieved. He aimed to establish a real rather than to paint a virtuous society. And what is to the point, he succeeded. He did what Catholicism in the Middle Ages had failed to do. He did what early Protestantism had likewise failed to do. In the first case, the individual had been compelled to surrender his understanding to the Church, and to bend his conscience and will to priest and prince; the revolution of Protestantism had failed to fully correct the error. For while it relieved outward restraint, it yet did not succeed in regenerating the forces of action.

Calvin taught the personal soul its rights, and its obligations, as well; he tried by simple and it may be admitted, by almost barbarous legislation, to incite men to achieve free obedience. This may appear strange to assert, yet to one who has any

realization of the significance of the epoch of which we write, it ought to be credible, as one has said: that "Government at Geneva was not police, but education; self-government mutually enforced by equals on each other." At any rate, the experiment was heralded throughout Protestant Europe, and men flocked to the little city by the blue lake to see what power of divination had descended upon earth that could so change the face of a society and preserve its members from splitting up into many sects, for this was the peril of Protestantism. The rising might of the Inquisition, the swift spread of Jesuitism, and the new confidence of Rome were sufficient to demand of all who had turned to the new faith a scrutinizing search for some mightier preservative, some defiant propagandism before which nothing then or since known could make headway. The more effective spread of Calvinism as over against that of Lutheranism is proof that the larger stream had taken to itself the power of the smaller one. Save where national issues prevented, Calvinism overbore its elder ally, and where the former failed to propagate itself Calvinism rose again and again, strong with its peculiar strength. It possessed a magical might, like all truly great movements in history, more unsubduable than its adherents knew themselves. It animated the followers of Knox, the cavalry of Cromwell, and the exiles in the cabin of the Mayflower.

CHAPTER IX.

CALVIN AND SERVETUS.

SINCE that fateful morning in October, 1553, when Servetus was led from prison to the gates of the City Hall to hear the Chief Syndic pronounce his sentence, and fell upon his knees crying out: "The sword! in mercy! and not the fire! Or I may lose my soul in despair,"—history has, especially of late years, been doing the poor victim the justice of fuller discussion and defense than it has accorded to any man connected with the Reformation. Such is the judgment of one of the calmest of Protestant historians.[1] Servetus has not lacked able, even enthusiastic apologists. The tragedy has been dramatized. Not sympathy, but justice, has lifted the martyr into a fairer court of trial than he was allowed to enter in Geneva, has taken off his chains, and given him a sympathetic hearing. The approval of Calvin's act by his intimate friends in the sixteenth century has been supplanted by the severe condemnation of the act by his friends in the twentieth century.[2]

[1] Schaff, Swiss Ref., p. 686.
[2] Dr. C. H. Parkhurst.

The year 1553 marked the ebb tide of Calvin's influence in Geneva, and this not after but before the coming of Servetus. His cause was in hard lines. The parties contending for mastery in the city were evenly balanced, and it looked at one time as if the scales were about to tip against Calvin's cause. When the Spaniard appears on the scene he runs into a trial which was of more than doctrinal import, and "was to test the relative strength of the rival parties in Geneva, and the permanence of Calvin's control." [1] Yet the long struggle noted above, lasting ten years, did not reach its end until it had spotted the fair fame of the chief contestant, and left the friends of Calvin and of the Reformation with a burden of explanation hard to carry.

No two men of the period offer to the reader so many points of both likeness and contrast. Both men were precocious in their youth, men of positive genius, foes of Rome, bold in opposing her reliance upon institutionalism, and in attempting her reform, both prolific writers, both versatile, both confident of a divine call, both dying in the prime of life; but the one was constructive, the other destructive; the one founder of a system still abiding, the other without a congregation to carry his name forward; the one filling the shelves of scholars of many languages with his books, the other scarcely known in his own books, for they

[1] J. Calvin: W. Walker, p. 334.

rank with the great rarities of literature; the one a star of the first magnitude, the other a passing meteor; the one dying quietly upon his bed, the other shrieking "miserere cordias" in his native tongue amidst the crackling of fagots. It is altogether a dark chapter in the career of the great leader of the Reformation. Gardens and vineyards now cover the little hillock of Champel, south of the city, where the funeral pile was prepared in the thick of the fallen oak leaves, but not thus can history hide the scene. In 1903, on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Servetus, many friends of the victim of intolerance set up a monument to the memory of "Michel Servet."

"See how those Christians love one another," was the word of outsiders in the first century. "There are no wild beasts so ferocious as Christians who differ concerning their faith," was the exclamation of heathens in the fourth century. The brilliant writer on the growth of rationalism in Europe[1] has dwelt upon the significance of this change in the passing centuries, and has emphasized the fact that as their minds became diverted from moral considerations and were filled with a sense of the importance of subtle theological distinctions, the theologians were willing to shut each other out of heaven upon the use or the neglect of a vowel point, as in the case of the difference

[1] Lecky.

between the Ho*mo*-ousians and the Ho*moi*-ousians. The Fathers were honorably reluctant to shed blood, however. When it comes to the Church of the Middle Ages its influence is measured by the ability of the Clergy to direct civil authority in the punishment of heresy. It was not a weak but a triumphant Church that suppressed heresy, and not in impulse but in deliberation, and not secretly but openly, not with painless poison but in the agonies of a slow fire. Popes instigated massacres, as in the case of the Albigenses, or gave thanks for wholesale slaughter, as in the awful night of St. Bartholomew.

Nor was persecution restricted to Catholics, and though Protestant oppression of free thought was never so sanguinary as that of Catholicism, yet even the stoutest of Reformers against Roman intolerance breathed the air of the times. All the leaders of the Reformation upheld the right and the duty to suppress heresy, save Zwingli and Socinus. This right was placed in the hands of the civil ruler by the Helvetic, Scottish, Belgic and Saxon Confessions. Luther, Knox, Beza, Cranmer and Ridley asserted the right. In fact early Protestantism flinched as little as did Rome from the extreme consequences of intolerance. The judicious Hallam observes: "Persecution is the deadly original sin of the Reformed Churches, that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause as his reading becomes more extensive." [1]

[1] Const. Hist. 1; 2.

And yet, because Protestantism was flexible, and its very principle of appeal to individual reason demanded a degree of toleration, it moved, with greater rapidity than Catholicism, toward freedom of thought and speech.

It should be remembered that the age was a cruel one, and that men of high character inflicted upon their fellows brutal penalties, utterly without excuse in a later day, and strangely inconsistent in their own day with the gospel they preached. The great historian of the Inquisition, Dr. Lea, says: "There is no doubt that men of the kindliest tempers, the profoundest intelligence, the noblest aspirations, the purest zeal for righteousness, professing a religion founded on love and charity, were ruthless when heresy was concerned, and were ready to trample it out at the cost of any suffering. The wheel, the caldron of burning oil, burning alive, flaying alive, tearing apart with wild horses, were the ordinary expedients by which the criminal jurists sought to deter crime by frightful examples which would make a profound impression on a not over sensitive population." [1]

The time of the trial and death of Servetus was one of intense agitation in the city of Geneva. Calvin was battling with the Little Council while Servetus lay in prison, and it was a question whether his defiance of that evenly divided body would not send him out of the city though it might at the

[1] Inquisition, p. 234.

same time send Servetus to the stake. Servetus only added fuel to the flames. Calvin had just refused the Sacrament to one of his bitterest enemies, Berthelier, and had set himself with amazing courage against the Council. He had gone so far as to declare, only a few days before the awful scene at Champel, in the pulpit of St. Peter's: "This may be my last sermon to you; for they who are in power would force me to do what God does not permit." In this fact, the opposition to Calvin, may be found a reason why the Council ordered a harsher form of death for Servetus than the one desired by Calvin. It is not meant by this that had Servetus dropped into Geneva a year earlier or a year later than 1553, he would have escaped the death penalty. Thirteen years after he died, the Council of Bern put a Valentino Gentile to death by the sword for heresy, and not a voice was lifted in his behalf.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Spaniard entered Geneva in July, 1553.

Michael Servetus was born in Villaneuva in the old kingdom of Aragon, in 1509 or 1511, though some accounts give his nativity at Tudela. There is much uncertainty as to his early life, yet it appears that a very early age he entered the University of Saragossa, and thence went to Toulouse, as a student of law, the hereditary occupation of his family. His most sympathetic biographer, R. Willis, thus judges him in his student

days: "Michael Servetus, as we apprehend him, was one of those sensitive natures, which, like the stainless plate of the photographer, retains at once and reflects every object presented to it." He vibrated between law, theology, and medicine, and in all was noted for restlessness under any phase of tyranny. He developed heterodox views, whether from the point of view of Catholic or of Protestant. Zwingli said of him in 1530, "the false and wicked doctrine of the troublesome Spaniard goes far to do away with the whole of our Christian religion." But Servetus, opinionated, and highly contemptuous of his opponents, though then barely of age, was not to be deterred from putting, in 1531 at Strassburg, the final touches to his *"De Trinitatis Erroribus."* The book blew up no small talk, even in distant places. In his *Table-Talk* Luther, the year after its publication, refers to a "fearfully wicked book—ein greulich bös Buch," which had lately come out against the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

Finding his Swiss friends of unwelcome spirit Servetus left Switzerland for Paris, and under the name of Villeneuve entered as a student of mathematics and physics in one of the Colleges. Under this name he afterwards practiced medicine for twelve years at Vienne.

While at Paris he encountered Calvin, and challenged him to a debate, but forfeited the engagement and laid himself open to Calvin's reproach:

"You fled at the encountre." Willis does not think that Calvin at the time of this challenge knew that Villenueve was the Servetus whom he later on did to the death. His real name and obnoxious books did not fully emerge until the period of his trial at Geneva, twenty years afterwards. Meanwhile he spent some time at Lyons as proof-reader to Trechsel the printer, and issued a magnificent edition of Ptolemy's *Geography,* a truly remarkable work for a man of his age. One year later Calvin put forth his great *Institutes.* In his *Geography,* first edition, he depreciates Palestine as "inhospitable, barren, and altogether without amenity," and though this was changed in the second edition, it was used against him in his trial as reflecting upon the land "flowing with milk and honey." Servetus became Scientist, Astrologer, and got great fame as Physician. In his work on the *Restitution of Christianity,* he described the circulation of the blood, seventy-five years ahead of Harvey's discovery. His basis of the Godhead as pantheistic, his disgust with the Trinity as a "three-headed Cerberus," his announcement of revelation as progressive, his rejection of predestination, and his attachment of merit to good works, opened him up to the assaults of the orthodox. At present only two copies of the original edition are known to exist: one in the National Library at Paris, the other in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Strange and pathetic contrast to the innumerable

and endless multiplications of the books of the Reformer of Geneva. In 1790 the book rose like a phoenix, in the shape of an exact reprint, but even this is now rare.

It was while at Vienne that Servetus began a correspondence with Calvin, in which the latter gave no evidence of ill temper, until worn out with the teasing importunity of Servetus he refused to continue the correspondence. They exchanged books, and on receiving the copy of his *Institutes,* with margins filled with criticisms, Calvin wrote "there is hardly a page that is not defiled by his vomit."

Calvin's last letter to Servetus is lost, but his severity need not be questioned, for, in a letter to Jean Frellon, written at the same time, he intimates that he had just written to his versatile inquisitor. "Since he has written to me in so proud a spirit, I have been led to write to him more sharply than is my wont, being minded to take him down a little in his presumption. But I could not do otherwise, for I assure you there is no lesson he needs to learn so much as humility. This must come to him through the grace of God, not otherwise. But we, too, ought to lend a helping hand." What a delicious bit of insight into the magnificent self-assurance which possessed the master theologian, and would be humorous if it were not tied up with so dark a tragedy.

On the same day Calvin wrote to Farel, Febru-

ary 13, 1546: "Servetus lately wrote to me, and coupled with his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast, that I should see something astonishing and unheard of. He offers to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; for if he does come, and my authority be of any avail, I shall not suffer him to depart alive." It is not likely that seven years afterwards Calvin forgot his threat when his hold on Geneva was shaken by the coming of the intruder.

In the forepart of 1553 a copy of the *Restitutio,* secretly printed at Vienne, reached Calvin. A friend of Calvin, one Guillaume Trie, a fugitive from Lyons, in correspondence with a cousin at Lyons, who had rallied Trie on alleged freedom of thought in Geneva, sent to his cousin a few pages of the new volume, and said of the author that "he ought to be burned alive." Though this appears to have been a private expression, it resulted in the arrest of Servetus before the Catholic authorities at Lyons. Soon more information was furnished by Trie, according to some authorities at the instigation of Calvin, and as others think, without it. There can be little doubt that Calvin was knowing, if not to the first letter, at least to what followed, when Trie sent to the court of trial the marked copy of Calvin's *Institutes,* annotated by Servetus himself, and very probably furnished all the documents needed by the Court of Trial at Lyons. In

the course of the investigation Servetus crossed his own path several times, if he did not lie to confuse his adversaries. Before the sentence of death, by slow fire, delivered June 17th, Servetus made his escape, on April 7th, by the help of friends, it is thought, and crossed the Rhone, and fled to Geneva.

Why go to Geneva? This question has been asked but not satisfactorily answered. He did not need to go there. He certainly had reason to distrust the wrath of Calvin, even if not deadly. He might have taken another route to Italy, as he was bound for Naples. At any rate, he arrived in Geneva, alone, July, 1553. Stopping at the "Rose" tavern for a few days, he attended Church, August 13th, and while listening to a sermon of Calvin was recognized, and soon after arrested, at the instigation of Calvin. Calvin freely admitted that he wished him out of the way, as is plain from the letter to Farel of August 20th, in which he said: "I hope the judgment will be capital in any event, but I desire cruelty of punishment withheld." The trial was immediately begun. Servetus, according to the ordinances of 1543, was denied counsel. He was not tortured. The deed of accusation was drawn up by Calvin and the liabilities of a false accuser were assumed by a refugee in the employ of Calvin, Nicholas de la Fontaine, as was customary. The main charges were of a theological

nature, though they embraced also attacks upon Calvin.

Taking advantage of the critical condition of the struggle in which Calvin was engaged with the adverse elements of the Council, his foes took up the side of Servetus, not that they favored his speculations, but that the trial offered them an opportunity to strike a heavy blow at their hated leader. The result of the first phase of the trial was unfavorable to the accused. The second act was introduced by Claude Rigot, state's-attorney, and in this the prisoner was charged with immorality and the attempt to spread dangerous opinions. A well known physical infirmity disproved the first charge, and to the second Servetus replied that he had come to Geneva with no sinister purpose. His demand to be released was urged with good reasons. Meanwhile, the Catholic authorities at Vienne sent a demand for the surrender of the prisoner. This the Little Council refused to heed, but promised to do him full justice. Servetus himself expressed a wish to remain in Geneva, thinking that he might meet a lighter penalty.

A discussion was proposed by the Council, in the hope that Servetus might be cured of the error of his ways, and nothing loath, Calvin instituted a colloquy in the presence of the judges, two of whom, Perrin and Berthelier, were his worst foes. This method not being satisfactory, the judges ordered Calvin to submit his statement of the pris-

oner's errors in writing, and Servetus to make answer, both of them in Latin. In this battle with the pen Servetus injured his cause, for he indulged himself in the most objurgatory epithets, even with violence, calling Calvin, "Simon Magus," and abusing him like a madman. "Thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou miserable wretch!" To this Calvin made no reply.

The whole matter was then submitted to Protestant Switzerland as a jury, September 22d, the very day on which Servetus animated by a false hope, appealed to the Genevan government to cause the arrest of Calvin, as himself a false accuser, making plea "that the case be settled by his or my death or other penalty." But the reply of the Swiss Churches was decidedly unfavorable to Servetus, for they unanimously recommended that he be declared guilty, and the penalty left to the discretion of Geneva.

The times were indeed critical for Calvin. He had but just succeeded in preventing Berthelier from taking the Communion, for on the 18th of September the Council had voted to *"hold to the Ordinances as before."* The answers from the Swiss churches greatly strengthened the cause of Calvin, and with his opponents beaten, and despite the delays urged by Perrin, October 26th, the Council ordered Servetus to be burned alive. The burning was not to Calvin's mind, but the court did not heed his desire for a milder form of death, and

sentenced Servetus to be burned after the following verdict:

"We condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound, and led to the place of Champel, there to be fastened to a stake and burned alive, together with thy book, as well the one written by thy hand and the printed one, even till thy body be reduced to ashes; and thus shalt thou finish thy days to furnish an example to others who might wish to commit the like."

Crushed at first by the unexpected sentence Servetus rose with simple courage to meet his fate, refusing to Farel a recantation of his errors, and though he asked the pardon of Calvin for any wrong he might have done him, he would not yield his opinions. His one request was for a death in whose less fierce torments he might be sure not to deny his convictions. The story of his execution is one of an awful mingling of mistaken justice, devotion to truth, and, it must be allowed, even of vindictiveness. Towards noon of October 27th, the procession came to a halt in the Place de Champel. Servetus appeared to be completely humbled, resigned, and submissive to his fate. At the funeral pile Farel led the people in prayer. The executioner fastens him by iron chains to the stake amid the fagots, puts a crown of leaves covered with sulphur on his head, and binds his book by his side. The sight of the flaming torch extorts from him a piercing shriek of "miserere cordias" in his native tongue; the spectators fall back with a

shudder; the flames soon reach him, and consume him in the forty-fourth year of his fitful life. In the last moments he was heard to pray in smoke and agony, with a loud voice, "Jesus Christ, thou Son of the Eternal God, have mercy upon me."[1] Thus he died for the doctrine of the Trinity which he had upheld during many years of life.

The present age makes no mistake in its sympathy with Servetus. The sixteenth century is repulsive to the twentieth century in its unfeeling verdict of the stake for opinion's sake, and we leave the scene with conflicting emotions.

The growth of Calvin's spirit from the shrinking to the severe is a fact worth recalling. In the earlier editions of his *Institutes* are passages which show that he had convictions that heretics should not be punished, at least with harshness. He says: "We should strive by all possible means, by exhortation, and teaching, by clemency and kindness, and by our prayers to God, that they may be commended to better thoughts, and return to the bosom of the Church." This and other passages are altered in later editions. What changed the man? Possibly his naturally acid temper became more bitter with the accumulation of conflicts, and the crisis which came in the year 1553 brought him to the last level of bitterness against all opposition. He had sufficient support from his surrounding theologians. Though a few condemned the exceed-

[1] So Dr. Schaff in Swiss Ref.

ing fierceness of the sentence and its execution, yet the great majority of the leading Protestants, like Melanchthon, the mildest of all men, declared it a just verdict. Even Guizot, writing within the last half century, says that "Calvin's cause was the good one, that it was the cause of morality, of social order, and of civilization. Servetus was the representative of a system false in itself, superficial under the pretense of science, and destructive alike of moral dignity in the individual, and of moral order in human society." This on one side.

On the other this. At the third centennial of the anniversary of the death of Calvin, held at Geneva, May 27, 1864, M. le pasteur Coutin, an eloquent speaker, said: "Make every allowance for the spirit of the age, for the prevailing prejudices which not even a man of genius can altogether escape; make allowance for all the necessities of the time and the pressure of circumstances; make allowance for whatever you choose; but the fact still remains that the laws and measures by means of which Calvin endeavored to ensure unity of conviction in Geneva are a stain upon his memory, an element condemned beforehand in all his work, upon which time ought to pass a just sentence."

This is Geneva herself in the third century from the scene. A half century later, 1903, the monument to Servetus reveals the sympathy of the thinking world.

CHAPTER X.

CALVIN—THE MAN.

It is difficult for us who cultivate a smiling charity towards opponents to enter into the mental operations of an intolerant logician of the sixteenth century, and for a materialist age like ours to measure the motives of a literalist-mystic like Calvin. He was great, and he erred. According to Guizot his errors were those of his times, his greatness of all times. He touched world-problems and lives to-day. "The greatest minds in history," says John Morley, "are those who in a full career and amid the turbid extremities of political action, have yet touched closest and at most points the wide, everstanding problems of the world, and the things in which men's intent never dies." [1] Of this far-shining company John Calvin was assuredly one. There is therefore nothing about him, his appearance, habits, methods of work, views, powers, aims, in which we are not interested.

According to the description of his most intimate friend, Beza, Calvin was of middle stature, of feeble health, courteous, kind, grave, and digni-

[1] Cromwell, p. 6.

fied in deportment. His frame was meagre, even emaciated, his face was thin, pale, finely chiseled, mouth well-formed, he wore a long pointed beard, his hair was black, his nose prominent, his forehead lofty, his eyes flaming. His dress was plain and neat, his habits were methodical in the extreme, his abstemiousness at times incredible, his frame altogether too slight for his mighty labors. Death worked little change in his countenance, for Beza remarked that he looked in death almost the same as alive in sleep.

He was after a sort a Stoic, or a modern Hebrew Prophet. Duty, integrity, single-eyed devotion to his ideal as he saw it dominated his life. Below his autograph in the frontispiece of Henry's smaller biography are the words *"Cor meum velut mactatam Domino in sacrificium offero."* The words describe a fitting symbol—a hand offering a bleeding heart to God. His frail health was a constant hindrance to his plans and toil. We find frequent mention of his sickness as a reason for postponing certain labors. "Completely worn out," he writes. "Before I have concluded,"—he is about to send off a letter in 1547—"a cough has seized me, and hits me so hard upon the shoulder that I can not draw a stroke of the pen without acute pain." The signature of another letter tells all the story: "John Calvin, confined to bed;"—that all is his grim purpose to keep in touch with the age for whose betterment he was so largely responsible, and the

wracked frame whose weakness his mighty will bent to high service in the work of the Church.

Calvin's mode of living was of the simplest. "When a man," he says, "is content with scanty food and common clothing, and does not require from the humblest more frugality than he shows and practices himself, shall it be said that such an one is too sumptuous and lives in too high a style?" His pleasures were few and simple. John Knox found him playing bowls on a Sunday afternoon. "He himself made no scruple in engaging in play with the seigneurs of Geneva; but that was the innocent game of the *clef* (key), which consists in being able to push the keys the nearest possible to the edge of the table."[1] His goods and possessions amounted to about two hundred dollars. He derived no profit from his books, though they were dedicated to princes and noblemen. The only really valuable bit of fine ware he received was a silver goblet, from the Lord of Varennes.

He loved truth, and he loved men, not possibly as the warm-hearted Luther drew his fellows to him, yet with no scant devotion to their good. His affection for Farel and Viret is seen in his dedication to them of his Commentary on Titus: "I do not think there have ever been friends who have lived together in such fast friendship and concord, as we have during our ministry." When Viret lost his wife Calvin wrote to him: "Would that I could

[1] Bonnet's Letters, 2, 49.

fly thither, that I might alleviate your sorrow, or at least bear a part of it."

Viret, Farel, Beza, Knox and Melanchthon held him in undying affection. Knox was his senior by a few years, but declared him the greatest man since the days of the apostles; Farel who had stopped him on that fateful night from going on beyond Geneva, loved him freely to the end, and in his old age hastened from Neufchâtel to Geneva on foot to bid the dying leader farewell; Beza, the most cultured of all the Reformers, knew Calvin intimately for sixteen years, and revered him as a father; Melanchthon wished to die on his bosom. No one can turn the pages of his voluminous correspondence, and fail to see that his letters to various persons scatter the slanders of Audin to the four winds, those misrepresentations which accuse Calvin of lacking an unselfish heart, and of being made of marble. True, he was endowed with a most forceful wrath, which he did not always hold in leash and then woe betide the man against whom he aimed the shafts of his scorn and wit. "Even a dog barks," he would say, "when his master is attacked; how could I be silent when the honor of my Master is assailed?" He wrote to his friend Bucer that he found it difficult to tame the wild beast of his wrath, and humbly asked pardon.

"An irritable pride is one of the salient traits of his character," says Dyer, and adds, "This feeling particularly betrayed itself where Calvin's lit-

erary reputation or his authority as a teacher was concerned; for these were the instruments of his power and influence." Beza admits Calvin's proneness to anger, which however is characterized by Calvin himself, more correctly, as morosity. As to his "surly" disposition Henry deemed that he was what Bossuet called him, *"un genie triste."* He finds in him eagerness, indignant zeal for the truth, yet in his letters a cheerful, even childlike confidence and in his manners nothing formal nor repulsive. Small things excited his impatience. He was at times harsh, and possibly to his friends his irritableness, based largely upon his physical infirmities, was at times somewhat trying. The Genevan Council happily called his main feature of moral worth, "Majesty of Character." It was a contemporary of Calvin, the Italian Guicciardini, who warned statesmen against levity. "Light men are the very instruments for whatever is bad, dangerous, and hurtful; flee from them like fire." Calvin would have had only the rarest praise from the wise Italian, for he took life seriously. His life was a link in the long, the divine order of things, and everything that in any way interfered with the achievement of his ideal was sternly put aside.

He was of granite mould; Melanchthon often desponded; Knox, fiery, energetic, daring, found himself disheartened. But no trace of weakness can be discovered in Calvin's faith. He must have been caught in the worst perplexities, but his con-

fidence in God suffered no just impeachment. He was ready for any fate, and true to his doctrine was his practice. "I am assured, in the first place, that God has me in His holy keeping; and, in the second place, that if it pleases Him we should suffer, I would gladly die for Him." This marked the great soul.

His unselfishness appears in an entry upon the *Registres* of the Council, January 29, 1546; after a serious sickness the Seigneury presented him with ten crowns. "On his recovery he returns the money to the Council, who cause it to be expended in the purchase of a cask of wine for him, thus leaving him no alternative but to accept it." On another occasion he refused an increase of salary except on the condition that his poorer brethren were to be likewise benefited.

Calvin's appreciation of the wonders of the natural world was lively and definite. In the chapter of the *Institutes* on Creation he is full of admiration for the order and beauty of the universe of God. "God has wonderfully adorned heaven and earth with the utmost possible abundance, variety, and beauty, like a large and splendid mansion, most exquisitely and copiously furnished, and exhibited in man the masterpiece of his works by distinguishing him with such splendid beauty and such numerous and great privileges."

Still those are in the right who claim that his realm of joy was that of the moral universe and

not that of the Genevan hills. We find small reference to the glories that were the perpetual feast of men who in a later day saw with opened eyes the splendors of mountain and lake and sky. It was not till the close of the eighteenth century that the charms of the outer world, the flower, the crag, and the cloud, began to refresh the heart of literature. Addison had little to say of the marvels of the Alps in the opening of the eighteenth century, nor had John Milton a hundred years before Wordsworth, lifted his hard and battling age into loving appreciation of the beauties of nature. It is indeed strange that the exceeding charm of the city and its surroundings in which Calvin spent nearly half his life should not have evoked a warmer word than we can find anywhere in his writings. The city of Geneva has a noble outlook. It possesses cathedral, the bridge spanning the Rhone, a "blue-green floor," and near by the hills of the Jura, and in the further distance Mont Blanc, all detailed in the crystal air as if with the fidelity of a microscope. On a clear day the lake is ruffled into almost impossible colors. One appreciates Mr. Howell's description of Geneva as "an admirable illustration printed in colors, for a holiday number, to imitate a water-color sketch." The marvel of it all is Mount Blanc when uncovered, whether in rosy splendor or in its white ghastliness. It is barely possible that Calvin had this vision in mind when he wrote to his friend, M. de Falaise, February 25,

1547, with regard to a house he was engaging for him: "You will have in front a small garden, and a noticeably spacious court. Behind there is another garden. A great saloon, with as beautiful view as you could well desire for the Summer."

Art, save in the forms of poetry and music, to save literature for later discussion, did not demand the attention of Calvin. He insisted upon congregational singing, and wrote a few versions of Psalms, and a hymn of praise to Christ in which a real fervor and tenderness run through the lines, a sample of which is appended:

"I greet Thee, who my sure Redeemer art,
My only trust, and Saviour of my heart!
Who so much toil and woe
And pain didst undergo,
For my poor worthless sake;
We pray Thee, from our hearts,
All idle griefs and smarts
And foolish cares to take.

Thou art the true and perfect gentleness
No harshness hast Thou, and no bitterness:
Make us to taste and prove,
Make us adore and love,
The sweet grace found in Thee;
With longing to abide
Ever at Thy dear side.
In Thy sweet unity.

Poor, banished exiles, wretched sons of Eve,
Full of all sorrows, unto Thee we grieve;
To Thee we bring our sighs,
Our groanings and our cries;

Thy pity, Lord, we crave;
We take the sinner's place,
And pray Thee, of Thy grace,
To pardon and to save."

If in any field of art we look for pre-eminence in the case of Calvin, it must be in that of literature. Here he leads the throng of writers of his day, in two languages, Latin and French. "With him," says Van Laun, "French prose may be said to have attained its manhood; the best of all his contemporaries, and of those who had preceded him, did but use as a staff or as a toy that which he employed as a burning sword." [1]

He holds rank with the great satirists of the world. Though to Rabelais he was "the demoniac of Geneva," he made the power of his keen blade felt wherever it fell. "Satire without a smile is perhaps the nearest approach to outward feeling which we find recorded, of the hypochondriac reformer of Geneva." [2] His wit was not so coarse as that of Rabelais, nor so gentle as that of Montaigne, but it was none the less dreaded by his opponents. When the need arises it leaps out in his famous letters. He was one of the great letter writers of the world. When too poor to purchase books, he wrote; in exile he wrote; when sick he wrote. So inevitable was it that he should tie his age, and for that matter, succeeding ages to himself. His voluminous correspondence included il-

[1] French Literature, 1. [2] Op. cit.

lustrious names. To give but a handful, we find in the list the following: Francis I, Henry II, Edward VI of England, Anthony of Navarre, Marguerite of Valois, the Duchess of Ferrara, Coligny, Luther, Knox, Cranmer, Melanchthon, Conde, and many others. He wrote to plain and needy people with frank and tender solicitude, and to the potentates of earth with candor and dignity. To the young King of England he sent the following message:

"It is a great thing to be a king, and especially of such a country; and yet I doubt not that you regard it as above all comparison greater to be a Christian. It is indeed, an inestimable privilege that God has granted to you sire, that you should be a Christian king, and that you should serve Him as His lieutenant to uphold the kingdom of Jesus Christ in England."

The year of his death he writes, January 8, 1564, to the Duchess of Ferrara:

"Madame, I pass to another subject. I have long had a great wish to make you a present of a gold piece. Think how bold I am; but because I supposed you had a similar one, I have not ventured hitherto, for it is only its rarity that can give it any value in your esteem. Finally I have delivered it to the bearer to show to you, and if it is a novelty to you, will you be pleased to keep it? It is the finest present that I have in my power to make you."

This was a gold medal which her father, King Louis XII had caused to be struck at the time of his dispute with the Pope, Julius II, with this

exergue: *"Perdam Babylonis Nomen!"*—I will destroy the name of Babylon. The gift was very agreeable to the daughter of the King, for it was a fitting reminder of her own stiff resistance to the claims of the Papacy.

It was as a Commentator that he reigned supreme in his day, and, for that matter survives to-day. Beginning with his work on Romans while in Strassburg, in 1540, he continued until the year of his death in Geneva, with his work on Joshua. A more extensive series, and one more clear and marked with spiritual insight, and more modern in method, was not produced by the age of the Reformation. Next to the *Institutes* and to the work of the Academy, Calvin's Commentaries rank for influence in the spread of his ideas throughout Europe and America.

While it is scarcely in place in so brief a volume and one bent to state the more permanent features of Calvin's life work, to elaborate his theological position, somewhat is demanded in that line. Calvin's great emphasis was upon the sovereignty of God—the holy, just, and wise ruler of the universe. His belief in the supreme authority of the Bible; his conviction that man—made in the image of God—fell into deep depravity, totally unable to help himself; and that from this hopeless state, some men are freely rescued by God's undeserved mercy; the means of which deliverance is Jesus Christ, whose indwelling becomes man's personal

possession, and in consequence man becomes holy unto God and elect unto God, while others are plunged into hell independent of any demerit, the sole cause of salvation or of loss being the divine choice: this over-emphasis of the Divine side is a back number in theology to-day. His system of theology has suffered much wear; and "the larger part of the Protestant world, even in the Churches which most honor his memory, has turned far aside from it." [1] His view of total depravity has gone the way with his peculiar estimate of the Holy Scriptures as written by "amanuenses" of the Holy Ghost. His theory of the penal satisfaction of the Atonement has been widely abandoned. His valuation of discipline has been wholly rejected. Yet his profound emphasis upon Christian intelligence, his primary appeal to mind, above all his high premium upon character, his exaltation of the personal nature of salvation, these abide.

The two chief errors which Guizot lays to the charge of Calvin, are his belief in the infallibility of the verbal statements of the Bible, and his doctrine of predestination. It was around the second of these that most of the controversy was had between the Reformer and his enemies and some of his friends. Calvin's own words well state the doctrine of the two destinies:

"Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no

[1] Walker. John Calvin, p. 425.

one desirous of the credit of piety, dares absolutely to deny. . . . Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in Himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or death. This God has not only testified in particular persons, but has given us a specimen of it in the whole posterity of Abraham, which should evidently show the future condition of every nation to depend upon His decision."[1]

Yet Calvin did not go beyond Luther in his assertion of the unfree will of man. While Luther swept away many mediæval doctrines, he did not hesitate to make God responsible for the ill as well as for the good in the world. Strange, both in the case of Luther and of Calvin, that a fervent belief in the impotence of the will and the exercise of its fullest mastery should have characterized the two most masterful men of the age. The paradox has been well stated by Mark Pattison: "In the suppression of the liberties of Geneva was sown the seed of the liberties of Europe. . . . By the demoralizing touch of fatalism was evoked a moral energy which had not been felt since the era of persecution." [2]

The linked perspective of Calvin's theology brushed aside, not only sentiment, but also

[1] Bk. 3, ch. 21, No. 1. [2] Essays, 2-7.

sympathy, for his stern logic did not hesitate to impute to God the will to separate infants into two classes, and this appears in the Westminster Confession which teaches that "elect infants dying in infancy," and "all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word, are saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how He pleaseth." In a note accompanying his discussion of the Creeds of the Church, Dr. Schaff adds: "Elect infants, however, implies, in the strict Calvinistic system, 'reprobate' infants who are lost. This negative feature has died out." [1]

How a belief so oppugnant to the gentler mind of the present century could have held sway so long has puzzled thousands, yet the solution of the difficulty is not so far to seek. In the long perspective of the Church's advance to power the doctrine of exclusive salvation had a mighty effect. The early Church Fathers did not shrink from declaring that persons external to the Church were under a sentence of condemnation. The Church according to a favorite image of the Fathers, was a solitary ark floating upon a shoreless sea of ruin. If they were not unanimous on the subject, and we must except Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus, of whom the first said that Socrates was in the sight of God a Christian, yet the great majority took the narrower view. Pagans, Jews and schismatics were doomed to eternal fires.

[1] P. 97.

This doctrine, not without its sustaining might in the days when the infant Church needed to fortify itself against awful persecutions, reached its climax of influence in the days when the spiritual authority waged war against the diversities of private judgment, put a moral yoke upon ferocious tyrants, and went far to abolish slavery in Europe. The doctrine of exclusive salvation was tenaciously supported by practically all the Reformers. It enabled them to make "the anarchy of transition" less perilous. It enabled those who broke away from the Romish Church to defy it. Luther and Calvin agree with Aquinas in this. Calvin says: "Beyond the bosom of the Church no remission of sins is to be hoped for, nor any salvation." With this the various Confessions, from 1551, when the Saxon Confession was presented to the Synod of Trent, to the "Humble Advice concerning a Confession of Faith" of the Presbyterian divines assembled at Westminster, 1647, stand fast. Zwingli alone openly repudiated the doctrine, on reading whose statement of the fact Luther said he had no hopes of the salvation of Zwingli.

Few men have proved victor in immediate debate as often as Calvin did. Few have projected themselves so far into the days ahead. Three illustrious citizens of Geneva have forever bound their names to the city by the lake. Rousseau was born there in 1712. Madame de Stäel lifted the neighboring Coppet to the notice of the world. Calvin's

place in the city we know. These three stand for the three centuries. The cry of Calvin is, "Return to the Bible!" That of Rousseau, "Return to Nature!" That of Madame de Stäel, "Return to the New Humanity!" But the voice of Calvin is still the mightiest, in that his errors were those of his day, while the truth he fought for is for all time. Irony may feast on his treatment of Gruet, one of the first victims of the new regime, who adopted the Bernese fashion of wearing breeches with slashes and plaits at the knees, and pinned a warning to Calvin's pulpit, calling him a "gross hypocrite," who was tortured and beheaded; or to his contention with Ami Perrin, military chief of the republic, whom Calvin nicknamed the "stage emperor," and banished, and with him his gay and sharp-tongued wife; or to his victory over Ameaux, who, for declaring Calvin a heretic and nothing but a Picard, was paraded through the streets of Geneva in his shirt, head bare, and a torch in his hand, and ended on his knees for pardon. Yet over against this one should picture the man of iron who once quelled a popular fury by walking unarmed into the crowd and calling to the people to begin with him if they must shed blood. He surely was a real man. He was candid. He was sure of himself. He was wonderfully gifted, a prodigious toiler, a man, too, with a mighty conviction of duty, intense, hard towards his enemies, faithful to his friends, never saving himself when the kingdom of God was in any peril.

The complete triumph of Calvin in Geneva was reached by the year 1555. The Perrinists were defeated; his majority in the Council was assured; the increasing influence of French refugees of high social position was more and more felt in the public life of the city; the new generation began to give him full honor, and when a simple-minded refugee spoke of him as "Brother Calvin," he was quickly told that the only proper term in Geneva was "Master Calvin." All this, too, though he was simply a pastor and teacher, without any official title. His plain living was unchanged, though his house was the center of attraction to distinguished visitors from foreign lands. His ability to work as if he were endowed with a giant's frame ceased not till near the close of his life. A vast acquaintance and a few intimates marked his social life. So he drew on to the close of an honored career. Struggle, rebuff, and neglect gave way to a recognition which was open and a reverence which was real.

The crown of his work was reached in the establishment of the academy. Though his work in Geneva was primarily religious, yet his appreciation of industrial and educational agencies was pronounced, and reveals the statesmanlike quality of his mind. He urged the Little Council to develop the weaving industry, and showed for his day liberal views upon the question of trade.

Above all he was concerned that Geneva should

become an intellectual people. He had utmost confidence in the place of trained brains. By 1556 he was free enough from his strife with opposition to push his plans for the founding of a great school, and make the "College" a permanent institution. The buildings which have largely remained till now were begun in 1558, and a current of gifts was started which in a few more years swelled to capital proportions. Noble assistants came to his aid, among them the Greek scholar of Lausanne, Theodore Beza, who succeeded him as chief pastor of Geneva, and head of the Swiss Protestants. The success of the Academy was great, both in the immediate and the far future. It was a final step towards the realization of Calvin's ideal of a Christian commonwealth. Its molding power not only in Geneva, but throughout Europe, defies the closest search. Next to the *Institutes* the Academy surpassed all other forces in the spread and the perpetuation of Calvin's noblest thought and plan for the Reformed Churches.

For twenty-three years Calvin labored in Geneva, and then passed on to others the system of his making. He died in the height of his mental powers, May 27, 1564, the same year with Michelangelo, and, too, the same year in which both Shakespeare and Galileo were born. The reformer's urgent spirit refused to yield to his multiplying maladies, aches of head and joints, gravel, dyspepsia, fever, and asthma. When unable to walk

he was carried to church in a chair. He preached his last sermon on the 6th of February, 1564. On the 25th of April he made his last will. In it are heard all the notes of his great character, his genuine humility, his complete reliance upon the grace of God, his declaration of a most sincere purpose in all his battles for the truth, to which he had consecrated his genius, his passion for the cause of the Reformed Church, and not a word of bitterness against his enemies, or even mention of them, save in this sentence: "I also testify and declare that, in all the contentions and disputations in which I have been engaged with the enemies of the gospel, I have used no impostures, no wicked and sophistical devices, but have acted candidly and sincerely in defending the truth." He leaves his little property to be disposed of by his brother, Antoine Calvin, after the payment of all debts. On the 26th of April the senators came in a body to see him, and were addressed by the patriarch, thanking them for their support, and begging their pardon for his displays of anger, and leaving them his exhortations to preserve the doctrine and discipline to which he had given his life. On the 28th he received the ministers of Geneva, and took each one by the hand in final and affectionate farewell. On the 19th of May he invited the ministers to his house for a simple repast, had himself borne into the adjoining room, where he tasted a little food in company with them, and was then carried back

to the bed which he never left until the day of his death. In the grip of excruciating pains he spent his last days in frequent quotations of the comforting words of the Bible. He was heard to use often the ninth verse of the thirty-ninth Psalm: "Thou bruisest me, O Lord, but it is enough for me that it is Thy hand." About eight o'clock on Saturday, the 27th of May, he fell peacefully asleep, conscious to the last breath, says Beza. According to his expressed wish he was buried without pomp in the Plain Palais Cemetery, during the afternoon of Sunday, the 28th.

The minute accounts of his last days, given by Beza and other intimate friends, are an utter refutal of the hideous stories told by Bolsec fifteen years after Calvin died, and retailed by Audin and, strange to say, even by Dr. M. J. Spalding, Roman Catholic Archbishop, who does not hesitate to veneer the vilest slanders against the Reformer's good name with such a statement as this: "The early Calvinists were hypocrites, and their boasted austerity was little better than a sham, if it was not even a cloak to cover enormous wickedness." This is worse than libel; it is caricature. It is too ridiculous to be offensive.

When Pope Pius IV heard of the death of Calvin, he said: "The strength of that heretic consisted in this, that money never had the slightest charm for him. If I had such servants, my dominions would extend from sea to sea."

The stranger asks for the spot where Calvin was buried. A plain stone with the letters "J. C." is pointed out, no one knows by what authority. The old man who showed the stone to Dr. Tulloch seemed to have little other idea of Calvin's work than that of the man who limited the number of dishes at dinner,—the memory of the sumptuary laws of the great autocrat of Geneva being thus preserved by a popular tradition in which the ludicrous and the melancholy are oddly mixed. Speaking of Calvin's grave, Henry says: "Respecting his last will, the Genevese neither raised a monument to his memory nor marked his grave with a stone. There in the church-yard, which is so decorated with the tombs of others, the grave of Calvin is unmarked and unknown."

In this he shared the lot of Moses.

CHAPTER XI.

STATESMANSHIP.

In his thorough grasp of the religious situation of Europe Calvin surpassed all men of his day, and Geneva was simply the fulcrum which he used to lift upon a firm basis the work of the Reformed Churches. He had many advantages denied to other reformers; he was the most widely traveled, the most remarkable correspondent, and for years before his death the most renowned and influential religious leader of his day. A holy contagion spread from Geneva, and its type of self-governing and strictly disciplined Church was firmly planted where governments were hostile, as well as in lands that gave his system hearty welcome. France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, Poland, Hungary, Germany, and to the far West, America, have traced back to the tiny city by the lake the sources of their peculiar types of Protestantism, not excluding additions which later history has developed in some of them.

Geneva became a veritable asylum to Calvin's own countrymen, and as they came with scars of their torture, and emerged from the passes of the

Jura, and caught sight of the city in which Calvin ruled, they fell upon their knees and gave thanks to God. They made good their stay, and joined with those who had preceded them in strenuous efforts to promote the cause of Protestantism. Geneva contained thirty printing-presses, and sent forth an endless supply of material for the expansion of the truth. Calvin was consulted at every stage of the progress of the French Reformation, and was called as pastor of the first Protestant Church in Paris, but declined. He gave the Huguenots their creed and polity, sent messengers with letters to comfort sufferers and prisoners who had renounced their old-time faith, and as one of his biographers records his interest: "As the eye of a father watches over his children, Calvin watched with untiring care of love over all these relations in their manifold ramifications, and sought to be the same to the great community of his brethren in France what he was to the little Republic at home."[1] His course at the time of the Amboise conspiracy reflects honor upon his name, for contrary to the charge of Bossuet Calvin was opposed to the plot of the few against the power of the Guises, and warned them against its execution and predicted its failure. In the awful persecutions which fell upon the devoted Church of his planting, his spirit animated every congregation and brightened the path of every victim through his darkest hours.

[1] Stähelin, I, 507.

The phases of French Protestantism were three: first, an amorphous period; second, one of more or less sturdy expansion; third, one of active interest in the political concerns of the State. It began with emphasis upon two principles; that of free inquiry, and that of individualism. But these did not furnish the cohesive power so soon to be demanded in resisting the foes sworn to the extirpation of all heretics. The second phase began with the issue of Calvin's *Institutes*. And though the new cohesive power was gained at the expense of a weakening of the earlier principles, nothing short of the splendid order introduced by Calvin into his system of thought and government could be expected to offset the equally great system just then rising above the horizon in the work of the Jesuits.

By the year 1547 the Reformation had leavened seventeen provinces and thirty-three of the principal towns of France. The model was that of the Church of Strassburg, founded by Calvin in 1536. In eleven years, from 1555 to 1566, no less than one hundred and twenty pastors were sent to France from Geneva. The French Reformers had held their meetings for worship and consultation at such times and places as the exigencies of the moment allowed. But on the 25th of May, 1559, a general synod of all Protestant congregations in France was deliberately convened in Paris. The ecclesiastical system adopted at this synod was dictated by Calvin. In it one may see the mind of the ec-

clesiastical statesman. The Confession of Faith which makes up the preface is an epitome of Calvin's *Institutes*. The criterion of truth was the revealed Word of God. Following this comes the organization of the local Church, in which it was ordered that the members of each body of the faithful should elect a consistory (a body of ruling elders), for calling a minister and celebrating the sacraments. A certain number of such Churches was to form a conference organized upon the basis of representatives, elders, and ministers. The Kingdom of France was divided into provinces (sixteen being the usual number), with a provincial synod to be held annually in each section, composed of all the ministers in the precincts and of one elder from each local Church. Crowning this was a national synod, to meet once in each year, composed of two ministers and two elders to represent each of the provincial synods. Such was the National Church of France. One has only to substitute for these titles the words presbyteries, kirk sessions, and general assembly, and the National Church of Scotland is before him in prototype.

The scenes of trial through which the spiritual children of Calvin walked with the tread of heroes bear bright witness to the power of an invisible hand upon a distant crisis. History stands with uncovered head in the presence of men and women who need no other monument of their faith than the story of how they faced the destruction of home

and the death of their dear ones. In the old Bastile a venerable man is standing in chains before Henry III. The king exclaims: "Recant, or I shall be compelled to give you up to your enemies; these two girls here are to be burned to-morrow."

"Sir," said Palissy the potter, "listen to me, and I will teach you the way to talk like a king: *I can not be compelled to do wrong.*"

Another scene is witnessed on the balcony of Coligny. The wife of the noble, Charlotte de Laval, is sitting by his side; "Husband, why do you not openly avow your faith, as your brother Andelot has done?"

"Sound your own soul," he replied; "are you willing to be chased into exile with your children, and to see your husband hunted to the death? I will give you three weeks to consider, and then I will take your advice." She looked her husband steadily in the eye through her tears. "Husband, the three weeks are ended; do your duty, and leave us to God." So Coligny becomes a file leader in French history.

In the flight of every forlorn Huguenot, braving risks and hardships incredible to the bigoted libertine who idled life away with the courtesans of Versailles, one might read the overthrow of the faith of Calvin, but in another interpretation of the devotion of the runaways one might discover a parallel to the emigration of Abraham, "who went out, not knowing whither he went."

The "Church of the Desert," as that of the Huguenots was styled, with its motto—The Burning Bush—though widely scattered, had the power to unify and to organize its members on every soil it touched. In Germany, where Calvin had labored for three years, the Reformed Church developed into a strong branch of Universal Protestantism. There it expressed itself in the Heidelberg Catechism, "the most widely accepted symbol of the Calvinistic faith." In Hungary it gained a firm foothold, and to-day two-thirds of the Evangelical population, about one-seventh of the inhabitants, are in Churches Calvinistic in origin and polity.[1] In Holland none of the hellish devices of their enemies availed to daunt the courage or even to seriously check the progress of the Dutch Protestants. It was there, as has been remarked by Dr. Schaff, that we must look to find the practical and ecclesiastical part of Calvin's total contribution of more value than his theological. This will explain why the Dutch Reformed Church, after having first expelled Arminianism, which was "the necessary and wholesome reaction against scholastic Calvinism," was allowed to return to Holland after the death of Maurice, and gradually pervaded the national Church. It was not so much the doctrine of predestination, as the organizing skill of Calvin, that kept Hollander and Scot true to his vow, and expert in saving the Church from disintegration.

[1] Walker's Calvin, p. 395.

The fact to which attention has been called in an earlier chapter falls into line. In his "Intellectual Development of Europe" Dr. Draper remarks: "A reason for the sudden loss of expansive force in the Reformation is found in its own intrinsic nature. The principle of decomposition which it represented, and with which it was inextricably entangled, necessarily implied oppugnancy." Doubtless this did breed dissensions among the Protestants, and they became an army divided against itself, in peril of surrendering to a watchful and united foe. It is true, too, that Protestantism, unlike its formidable antagonist, contained "no fundamental principle that could combine distant communities and foreign countries together; it originated in dissent, and was embodied by separation. It could not possess a concentrated power, nor recognize one apostolic man who might compress its disputes, harmonize its powers, and wield it as a mass." This observation is in the main true, but it fails to do justice to the one man who succeeded in typing completely the aggressive power of Protestantism, and worthy of its honors, John Calvin. The Reformation, which was begun as criticism, did not end in destruction. It developed the spirit of free inquiry among peoples who were working out the problems of constitutional government, and became constructive of agencies which were wise, practical, and successful in the founding of mighty nations.

Yet it is to Scotland that one must go for fullest proof of the amazing and immediate might of the new faith. Calvin's influence upon this part of the English-speaking world was unique. Discipline, polity, and doctrine were stamped with his genius. Through the direct agency of another Calvin gained Scotland for the Reformation, for what he was to Geneva, and Luther to Germany, John Knox was to the land of his birth. The five years of his exile (1554-1559), spent mostly in Geneva, made him thoroughly familiar with the "most perfect school of Christ that ever was since the days of the Apostles," as he said.

Knox even outdid Calvin in his fiery energy for the redemption of his people. His labors are too well told in another volume of this series to call for elaboration here. But one scene in his daughter's life reveals the temper of soul before which all opposition was as chaff. Mrs. Welch was seeking before the King of England, James I, the return of her banished husband. The King told her he would grant it if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops. "Please, your Majesty," said the heroic woman, lifting up her apron and extending it towards the King as if in the act of receiving her husband's severed head from the ax, "I 'd rather *kep* his head there!"

The Kirk in Scotland got into history in memorable fashion. The people were for the most part poor, and when they became a power in the State

they did not lean to costly shows, ceremonies, ritual, and processions. Government by the majority was in order. Lecky says, "The Kirk was essentially republican." Says Froude: "The Scottish Commons are the sons of their religion; they are so because that religion taught them equality of man." The preacher was called to his work by the election of the congregation, not by the appointment of king or bishop.

It has been reserved for a Frenchman, and that too not of the faith of Calvin, to lift praise to its highest height. Taine says of the Calvinists: "They founded England in spite of the corruption of the Stuarts; . . . they founded Scotland; they founded the United States; at this day they are by their descendants founding Australia and colonizing the world."[1] As this volume is not so much a eulogy as an analysis, it will be well to inquire further into this.

Bancroft is correct in saying that "the right exercised by each congregation of electing its own ministers was in itself a moral revolution."[2] This certainly did not fit in with the older plan of rule in England, and King James I was true to his habit of thought when he declared, "Presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil." Whatever came later in the age on the favorable soil of America, it is certain that the long struggle between the Stuarts and the Nonconformists in the

[1] Eng. Lit. 2-472. [2] 1, 42.

seventeenth century failed to turn England over to the Geneva school of statesmen, though theologically the latter made good in the famous Westminster Confession.

Imperfect beginnings were made by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. They looked for completeness of their partial work in another age.[1] In 1526, Francis Lambert, of Avignon, proposed for the Churches of Hesse a scheme of ecclesiastical order which never went into operation there. It "contemplates the formation of a pure congregation of true believers, in which the right of ecclesiastical self-government should be exercised immediately by the congregation, not mediately through representatives and delegates." Another part of the platform made provision for a yearly synod of the Churches to be "composed of the assembled pastors and of delegates chosen immediately before in the Church meetings." However, the plan did not prevail. Neither Luther nor Melanchthon thought the time ripe for the introduction of a simple evangelical Church polity.

The scheme of Calvin expressed itself in both the Congregational and the Presbyterian Churches; in the former through the Brownist or Independent movement, in England, Holland, and New England; in the latter in Scotland, England, and other than the New England Colonies of the Western World. The doctrine of Calvin filled the pulpits

[1] Gieseler's Eccl. Hist., 4, 520.

of both branches, the polity of only one. In both the emphasis upon lay share in government had large fruitage; in neither has the emphasis upon what were the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, predestination, election, reprobation, survived the attacks of modern thought and the growing passion for offering to all men a free gospel.

It is to the growth of the idea of lay share in political life that we are to look for the proof that the Reformation is in a deep sense the father of modern democracy. It is not that Calvin was the exclusive founder of the modern democratic state. His trend of thought was aristocratic, and his distrust of the plain man prevented him from giving the layman that tremendous share in government which has fallen to his lot in our days. Yet despite Calvin's temperamental exclusiveness, the humble man has entered into his kingdom, partly by the measure of honor allowed him by Calvin, and largely by the inevitable drift of Calvin's larger conception of man's relation to God and human rulers, and the steady thrust of the ages towards democracy.

How the seeds of Calvinism vitalized the English-speaking communities and promoted democratic hopes and practices, has been very clearly stated by Professor Charles Borgeaud, of the University of Geneva. In his "Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England," 1894, he has devoted himself to the history of democratic ideas

and schemes of government. In his studies of ancient democracies he reached a somewhat negative result; namely, that the most permanent contribution of ancient democracy was a new conception of law. This possessed primarily a religious character, a revelation of the will of Heaven, but was, by the operation of popular suffrage, secularized. In the East the original stamp prevailed, and Law remained fixed, without flux or movement. In the West it became human and progressive. But this conception was more or less lost in the gloom of the Middle Ages. The Renaissance and Reformation and the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inaugurated this conception of the modern State. The source of the modern State with its written Constitution is traceable to the work of the Reformers in the sixteenth century. In this Professor Borgeaud has found a yokefellow in Professor H. L. Osgood, who says: "Calvinism, in spite of the aristocratic character which it temporarily assumed, meant democracy in Church government. . . ." Calvinists "did not need to search the records of antiquity to find communities where the theory of human equality was approximately realized. The local Church furnished a much better model than any Greek State. The theory upon which it was based was easily transferred to the domain of politics." In the bitter strifes between Cavalier and Puritan is to be found in the *"Agreement of the People,"* put

forward by Puritan officers, the first expression of the fundamental principles of modern democracy. The significance of the scheme has been generally neglected by English historians, even Hallam, the judicious, passing it by without slightest mention, while Gardiner criticises its suggestions "as but the dreams of a few visionaries."

The scheme was more than a dream. The drafts of the proposed Constitution appeared three separate times, all with the same name, in 1647, 1648, and 1649. The discussions they aroused afforded the people opportunity to become familiar with the idea of a written constitution. And though the "insubstantial fabric" created by Cromwell's officers fell in the clash of swords, the idea defeated in Old England struck firm root in the New, and the dream of Puritan visionaries in the seventeenth century became the corner-stone of giant States in the eighteenth.

Though the Reformation, and not the reformers, must be credited with the democracy of modern times, it is true that the levers used by Calvin—the two principles of free inquiry, and the priesthood of all believers—to break the power of the Holy See, gave legal character to the religious revolution, and contained the seeds of the political revolution, which was inevitably linked with the earlier one. It was a long path to the democracy of the Apostolic Church, and an immediate return meant a serious break with current ideas. The re-

formers entered the path either ignorant of the end, or believing themselves able to stop short of the end. But once in, they proved leaders of a procession whose ultimate power outran their will to control. In his theory of equality of all men in the Church, Calvin declared the authority of the faithful to choose their leaders. "But when the political question arose in Geneva in connection with the religious question, the man took the upper hand and his work became aristocratic."[1] The forms he imposed upon the exercise of the power of the faithful made their authority illusory. However, the principle remained, and with mighty consequences. The right of the congregation became fact, and in due time came forth clad in the shape of the sovereignty of the people.

When we remember that it was two and a half centuries ago that the English democrats made bold to proclaim their faith, 1648-9, and how far they were in advance of their day, we scarcely wonder that another time and another land were required for the complete outworking of their scheme. They could not expect compliance with their views from the great Cromwell. He was like a shipmaster in a storm, holding everything in subjection to his will between contending factions until some harbor should be reached. Cromwell was the leader of the Independents, as against the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. Yet he was un-

[1] Borgeaud, 5.

able to look with any favor upon the plan of the Independents, who were backing up the "Agreement of the People" so long as the contention between his cause and that of the Cavaliers was hanging in the balance. In the main the triumph of Independency was the triumph of toleration and republicanism, but it was not to be won in the years immediately following Marston Moor, and when the king's head was the stake in 1649. Without knowing how far his words would carry, Cromwell said in 1648: "Every single man is judge of just and right, as to the good and ill of a kingdom." Yet he was no democrat. Like all truly great men, Cromwell loved order, and the proposition of the officers fathering the "Agreement" tended for the while to a break both with the king and the Parliament, and even with the lieutenant-general himself.

The "Agreement" was turned down by Parliament as a seditious document. The army was called to *rendezvous* at Ware in sections by the cautious Fairfax, yet stubborn men were found by thousands among the rank and file, and some officers of the line, who wore on their hats copies of the "Agreement of the People," with the motto, "England's Freedom and Soldiers' Rights," in capital letters on the outside. Cromwell rode up. "Remove me that paper!" he said. The refusal of the soldiers and their complaints aroused him, and riding roughly among the ranks he commanded the

arrest of the ringleaders. Then convoking a Council of War on the spot he had three condemned to die, and one of the three, chosen by lot, shot at the head of his regiment.

Though the strong hand of Cromwell restored discipline, the army was not purified of its incipient republicanism, and when two-thirds of the regiments declared that they were ready to die rather than give up the "Agreement," Cromwell submitted, and peace with the democratic party was signed at Windsor. And on the 20th of January, 1648-9, the "Agreement" was presented to Parliament in the name of the army by the general-in-chief and his council of officers. But grave business was on hand, for on that very day the trial of Charles Stuart began, and the democratic constitution was laid aside; it may be, had been both foreseen and discounted. It did not appear again.

The tenor of this remarkable document, as first stated in 1647, and not printed in the original text until 1894,[1] can be understood from a brief quotation from Article IV: "That the power of this, and all future Representatives of this Nation, is inferior only to theirs who chuse them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of Lawes; to the erecting and abolishing of Offices and Courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account Magistrates, and

1 Borgeaud, p. 67.

Officers of all degrees; to the making War and Peace; to the treating with forraigne States: And generally, to whatsoever is not expressly, or implyedly reserved by the represented themselves."

After such fashion did the soldiers of Cromwell work out a system of government, expressed in a written constitution and established on the will of the people directly consulted. These soldier democrats were religious men, and to their religion must we go if we would understand their politics. The source of their ideas is the Bible. The example of a treaty of alliance between Jehovah and His people had furnished the idea of a contract between a sovereign and his subjects. This was the first form of the theory, and it was not long in taking the form of a contract existing between individuals themselves, constituting the nation. Now while writers like Richard Hooker and Thomas Hobbes represented the king as one party to the contract, the soldiers of Cromwell entirely ignored the king, and lifted the old Jewish and Huguenot conception out into the clear, where men now recognize and apply it. This became the theory of Locke and of Rousseau, save that they did not regard it from the religious viewpoint.

In the disputes between the Independents and the Presbyterians, when the latter affirmed that the league of alliance mentioned in the Bible did not mean a contract between individuals such as the Church Covenant of the Independents, but a league

between God and His people, the Independents answered that the one implied the other. It is easy to see how the founders of a Church upon this basis would act when it came to the organization of a State. A political community made up of Christian believers would most naturally transfer their methods in the one case to their needs in the other, and in the organization of the members of the sovereign people into a State would move forward by sure stages to the adoption of a constitution by a popular vote, to the rule of the majority, as a necessary fiction and condition of a democratic government, and finally to the expression of it all in a written constitution.

While Puritan democracy was beaten in the strife with the traditions of England, it gained a victory in the New World. The colonists of New England were exiles from the Puritan homes of Old England. In the virgin soil the ideas rooted themselves immovably and grew with unexampled vigor. Even before the landing of the men from the *Mayflower* they drew up their celebrated Covenant, "Anno Domini, 1620." Bancroft has been charged with enthusiasm and exaggeration in saying, "This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty," and that "in the cabin of the *Mayflower* humanity recovered its rights," on the ground that "humanity" was only about one hundred persons, and that the signers had no intention of founding a nation, seeking, as they were, a refuge only. But

when it is remembered that the Covenant was drawn up to silence some "strangers" who had joined them in London, and to unite the whole body in "unitie and concord," and that the Colonists added a Plantation Covenant or civil contract to their Church Covenant, and that a similar Plantation Covenant was usually the first step in the founding of every new settlement, it is not without reason that it has been assigned a place in the official collection of the Constitutions of the United States. In the history of the various Puritan settlements we find struggles, reactions, and secessions, but they were in some way connected with the very principle of liberty which animated the first exodus from the Mother Country. For when the colonists of Massachusetts Bay yielded to the tendency to follow their leaders in a sort of theocratic aristocracy, it fell out that John Winthrop, Jr., the friend of Roger Williams, and the son-in-law of Hugh Peters, the famous Independent preacher who became Cromwell's chaplain, led the secession to the banks of the Connecticut, and in the adoption of the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut by the General Assembly at Hartford, on January 14, 1638-9, the immigrants formed the first American constitution accepted by the people, and the first written constitution of modern democracy.

It has been asserted[1] that the written Constitutions of the American Republic had their origin

[1] Brooks Adams, in Atlantic Monthly, 1884.

in the Royal Charters granted during the Middle Ages to the Companies of Merchants, and that, even earlier from the evolution of the town meeting among the German races we must date the similar product in the New England colonies. But in reply to this, and to the argument [1] that the colonists merely revived a custom which had been in "occultation" a thousand years, a "case of revival of organs and functions on the recurrence of the primitive environment," the query of Borgeaud is worth putting at the close of this study of the origin of American democracy. How was it "that the revival of organs and functions" only took place in New England, while the "recurrence of the primitive environment" equally prevailed in the other colonies?" [2]

The fact is indisputable that the democratic inheritance from the Teutonic races was imperiled by the aristocratic transformation then in progress in England, and that the American colonists translated their religious ideas into political activity, else they would not have founded the democratic government of the town meeting.

Coming down now to the War of the Revolution, we discover again the influence of Calvinism. According to the same historian lately quoted, "The Revolution of 1776, as far as it was affected by religion, was a Presbyterian measure. It was the

[1] G. E. Howard, in Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. 4.

[2] Borgeaud. Op. cit., 140.

natural outgrowth of the principles which the Presbyterianism of the Old World planted in her sons, the English Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the Dutch Calvinists, and the (Scotch) Presbyterians of Ulster."[1] Horace Walpole said in the English Parliament: "Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson." The reference was doubtless to Dr. John Witherspoon, a Presbyterian preacher, the only clergyman in the Continental Congress, who gave the deciding vote for the adoption of the immortal Declaration. Dr. Charles Elliott, editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* (Methodist), said that "in achieving the liberties of the United States the Presbyterians of every class were foremost," and Dr. Charles Hodge phrased the story of the war in happy fashion in his remark that the Shorter Catechism fought through successfully the War of American Independence.

That these high claims are not without basis of truth and reason, let it be remembered that at the era of Independence, out of a total population of about three million, nine hundred thousand were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish origin, six hundred thousand were Puritan English, and over four hundred thousand were of Dutch, German Reformed, and Huguenot descent, nearly all of whom had pronounced Calvinistic leanings. Making all allowance for exaggeration, the estimates are significant,

[1] Bancroft.

and go far to buttress the vivid statement of Von Ranke, the profound historian: "John Calvin was the virtual founder of America."

Not much more need be said, save to repeat with Emerson: "This is the key to the power of the greatest men,—*their spirit diffuses itself.*"

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